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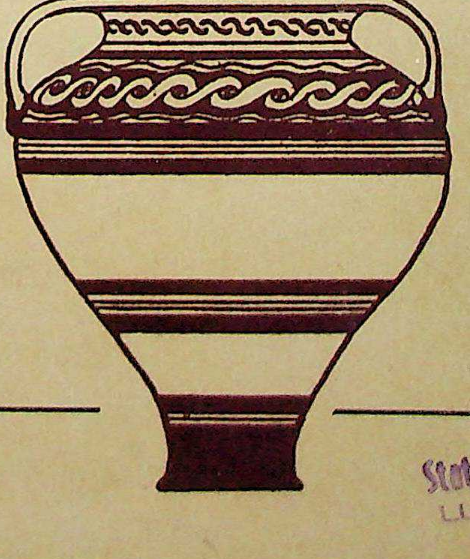
MYCENAEAN POTTERY *from the* LEVANT

BY

FRANK H. STUBBINGS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS



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FRANK H. STUBBINGS

Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1951

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The Mycenaean pottery from Syria and Palestine has not, to the best of my knowledge, previously been the subject of any special study. It is here examined in detail with reference to its dating, its distribution, and its origins.

The sources of my illustrations are shown in the list of text-figures and in the captions facing the plates. The maps were compiled by myself. A very few of the photographs are my own, but the majority have been supplied by the British Museum, the Cyprus Museum, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. I am grateful also to Professor C. F. A. Schaeffer for lending me unique prints (which I have re-photographed) of the material from Ras Shamra. They are reproduced here with his willing permission.

I cannot name all the many to whom my thanks are due for facilitating my work in various ways; but at least I must here express my gratitude to my University and my College, whose patronage has been the *sine qua non* of my undertaking such work at all; to Professor Alan Wace, who first prompted my studies in this field and has sustained and encouraged them continually by his advice and friendship; and to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for undertaking to publish this book.

FRANK H. STUBBINGS

CONTENTS

List of text-figures . . *page* ix
List of plates xi
List of maps xii
Acknowledgments . . . xii
Abbreviations . . *page* xiii
Note on place-names . . xv
Note on chronology . . xvi

Chapter I INTRODUCTION 1

II MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN RHODES . . . 5
- 1 Mycenaean II and IIIA 1 8
- 2 Mycenaean IIIA 2 11
- 3 Mycenaean IIIB 17
- *Appendix A.* Mycenaean pottery in other islands of the south-east Aegean and in western Asia Minor . 21

III MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CYPRUS 25
- 1 Mycenaean II and IIIA 1 26
- 2 Mycenaean IIIA 2 31
- 3 Mycenaean IIIB 37
- *Appendix B.* Pot-marks 45

IV MYCENAEAN II POTTERY IN SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT 53
- 1 Syria and Palestine 53
- 2 Egypt 56

V MYCENAEAN III POTTERY IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE 59
- 1 Mycenaean IIIA 59
- 2 Mycenaean IIIB 71
- *Appendix C.* Mycenaean pottery in Cilicia . . 88

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FRANK H. STUBBINGS

CONTENTS

List of text-figures . . *page* ix
List of plates xi
List of maps xii
Acknowledgments . . . xii
Abbreviations . . *page* xiii
Note on place-names . . xv
Note on chronology . . xvi

Chapter I INTRODUCTION 1

II MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN RHODES . . . 5
1 Mycenaean II and IIIA1 8
2 Mycenaean IIIA2 11
3 Mycenaean IIIB 17
Appendix A. Mycenaean pottery in other islands of the south-east Aegean and in western Asia Minor . 21

III MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CYPRUS 25
1 Mycenaean II and IIIA1 26
2 Mycenaean IIIA2 31
3 Mycenaean IIIB 37
Appendix B. Pot-marks 45

IV MYCENAEAN II POTTERY IN SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT 53
1 Syria and Palestine 53
2 Egypt 56

V MYCENAEAN III POTTERY IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE 59
1 Mycenaean IIIA 59
2 Mycenaean IIIB 71
Appendix C. Mycenaean pottery in Cilicia . . 88

Chapter VI MYCENAEAN III POTTERY IN EGYPT . . . *page* 90
1 Mycenaean III A 90
2 Mycenaean III A-B 93
3 Mycenaean III B 97
VII GENERAL CONCLUSIONS 102

LIST OF TEXT-FIGURES

FIG. 1 Distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Rhodes . . . . page 6
2 Kylikes from Milia, Cyprus. (*QDAP*. VIII, pl. V. 1–2) . 26
3 Kylix from Enkomi. (*BM. Cat.* C 616, fig. 219) . . . 27
4 Piriform jar shapes 28
5 Kylix from Maroni. (*BM. Cat.* C 617, pl. III) . . . 29
6 Decoration of a krater from Maroni, Cyprus. (*Essays... presented to Sir A. J. Evans*, pl. II) 34
7 Decoration of a krater from Aradippo, Cyprus. (*BCH*. XXXI, p. 234, fig. 15) 38
8 Shapes peculiar to the Myc. III B pottery of Cyprus . . 39
9 Myc. II alabastron from Ras Shamra. (*Klio*, XXXII, pl. III. 5) 53
10 Myc. II sherds from Byblos. (M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, pl. CLXXVII) 54
11 Myc. II sherds from Gezer. (R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, pl. CLI) 55
12 Myc. II sherd from Gezer. (*Excavation of Gezer*, II, fig. 318) . 55
13 Myc. II sherd from Lachish. (O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge and L. Harding, *Lachish II*, pl. LXIII. 3) 55
14 Distribution of Myc. II pottery in Egypt. (Based on *JEA*. XVI, pl. XXII) 57
15 Myc. III A 1 pots from Katna. (*Syria*, IX, pl. XVIII and p. 136, fig. 2) 60
16 Myc. III A rhyton from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, XIII, pl. IV. 2) 61
17 Myc. III A jug from Ras Shamra. (*Ibid.* pl. II. 2) . . 62
18 Myc. III A piriform jars from Gezer. (*Excavation of Gezer*, pls. LXVII and CLI) 63
19 Myc. III A sherds from Gezer. (*Excavation of Gezer*, pl. CLI) 63
20 Myc. III A jug from ‘Ain Shems. (E. Grant, *Beth Shemesh*, p. 163, fig. 2) 64

LIST OF TEXT-FIGURES

FIG. 21 Myc. IIIA sherds, from figured kraters, from 'Ain Shems. (E. Grant and G. E. Wright, *'Ain Shems Excavations*, IV, pl. XLIX and V, pl. I) . . . . *page* 65

22 Fragment of Myc. IIIB figured krater from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, X, pl. III. 2) 72

23 Fragments of Myc. IIIB kraters from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, XIV, p. 105, fig. 8, and C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I*, p. 103, fig. 96) 72

24 'Milk-bowl' shape in Mycenaean technique, from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, XIV, p. 105, fig. 8) 73

25 Patterns from Cypriot Mycenaean bowls, from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, XIV, pl. X. 4 and p. 105, fig. 8) 73

26 Myc. IIIB rhyton from Ras Shamra. (*Syria*, XVII, p. 115, fig. 8) 75

27 Figured Myc. IIIB sherds from Byblos. (M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, pl. CLXXVI) 76

28 Myc. IIIB sherds from Byblos. (*Ibid.* pl. CLXXVII) . 76

29 Sherds from figured Myc. IIIB kraters, from Tell Abu Hawam. (*QDAP*. IV, pls. XIX *f*, *g*, *q*; XX *c*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *q*, *t*, *u*) 80

30 Sherds from figured Myc. IIIB kraters, from Gezer. (R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, pl. CLI) 84

31 Myc. IIIB sherds from Gezer. (*Ibid.*) 84

32 Myc. IIIB kylix (fragment) from Lachish. (O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge and L. Harding, *Lachish II*, pl. XLVI) . . 85

33 Sherd of figured Myc. IIIB krater from Tell Ajjul. (W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, IV, pl. XLVI. 35) 86

34 Distribution of Myc. III pottery in Egypt. (Based on *JEA*. XVI, pl. XXIV) 91

35 Fragment of Myc. III stirrup-jar from Gurob. (G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. XXVIII. 17) 96

36 Fragment of Myc. III stirrup-jar from Gurob. (*BM. Cat.* A 983) 96

37 Myc. III stirrup-jar from Riqqeh. (R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh*, pl. XXII. 3) 97

LIST OF PLATES

(*following p. 111*)

I Myc. IIIA1 Pottery from Ialysos, Rhodes
II Myc. IIIA2 Pottery from Ialysos, Rhodes
III Myc. IIIA and IIIB Kylikes from Ialysos, Rhodes
IV Myc. IIIA and IIIB Stirrup-jars from Ialysos, Rhodes
V Myc. IIIB Pottery from Ialysos, Rhodes
VI Myc. IIIA Pottery from Cyprus
VII Myc. IIIA Kraters from Cyprus
VIII Myc. IIIA Piriform Jars and Jug from Cyprus
IX Myc. IIIB Bowls and Kraters from Cyprus
X Myc. IIIB Kraters from Cyprus
XI Myc. IIIB Kraters from Cyprus
XII Myc. IIIA and IIIB Cups and Dishes from Cyprus
XIII Myc. IIIB Pottery from Cyprus
XIV Myc. II and IIIA Pottery from Palestine
XV Myc. IIIA Pottery from Syria and Palestine
XVI Myc. IIIB Pottery from Ras Shamra
XVII Myc. IIIB Pottery from Syria and Palestine
XVIII Myc. IIIA–B Pottery from Egypt

LIST OF MAPS

(*following Pl. XVIII*)

1. Distribution of Myc. II Pottery in the Levant
2. Distribution of Myc. IIIA Pottery in the Levant
3. Distribution of Myc. IIIB Pottery in the Levant

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNALS

AA. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts).

AASOR. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

AIRRS. *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* (*Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom*).

AJA. *American Journal of Archaeology.*

AM. *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.*

Ann. *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene.*

Ant. Journ. *The Antiquaries Journal.*

BCH. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*

BSA. *Annual of the British School at Athens.*

Clara Rhodos. *Clara Rhodos, Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi.*

Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.

JEA. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

JdI. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.*

JHS. *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

Klio. *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.*

Liv. Ann. *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (University of Liverpool).

PEF. Ann. *Annual Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

PEFQS. *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

QDAP. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.*

Syria. *Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.*

2. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Arch. of Crete. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete.*

Ch. Tombs. A. J. B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* (= *Archaeologia*, vol. LXXXII).

CMP. A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery.*

Excav. in Cyprus. A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus.*

FLMV. Furtwängler and Löschcke, *Mykenische Vasen.*

Lachish II. O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge and L. Harding, *Lachish II: the Fosse Temple.*

MP. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery.*

P. of M. A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos.*

Problems. E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age.*

Prosymna. C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna: the Helladic settlement preceding the Argive Heraeum.*

SCE. E. Gjerstad (editor), *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.*

SPC. E. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (= Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1926; Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper, 1).

TAH. R. W. Hamilton, *Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam* (= *QDAP.* IV, pp. 1–69).

3. CATALOGUES

BM. Cat. E. J. Forsdyke, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.* (The volumes referred to are vol. I, pt. i (numbers with the prefix A) and vol. I, pt. ii (numbers with the prefix C).)

Munich Cat. J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Bd. I.

Toronto Cat. D. M. Robinson, C. G. Harcum and J. H. Iliffe, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto.*

3. CATALOGUES (cont.)

CVA. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.* The fascicles and plates referred to are as follows:
  (*BM. 1*) British Museum, 1. Section IICb, plates 1 ff.
  (*BM. 5*) British Museum, 5. Section IIIA, plates 1 ff.
  Copenhagen 1. Section IIIA, plates 39–48.
  Copenhagen 2. Section IIIA, plates 49 ff.
  Pays-Bas 1. Section IIIA, plates 1–3.
  Rhodes 2. Section IIAc, plates 1–14.

NOTE ON PLACE-NAMES

My general practice has been to use the transliterations of place-names adopted by excavators in publishing their finds. These are usually the most familiar, and make reference easier than any consistent system of transliteration could. Many of the sites in Palestine and Syria, however, are equally well known under a modern or an ancient name (both of which may be spelt in several ways). It has therefore seemed desirable to insert the following concordance. In it the names normally used by the excavators (and in the present work) are given as main entries (in capitals), followed by the alternatives or variants; and other names or forms are listed with a cross-reference to the main entry.

Abu Shusheh, the village near which lies the mound of GEZER, *q.v.*
'AIN SHEMS, Beth Shemesh.
AKTANIT.
Alalakh, *see* TELL ATCHANA.
AL MINA.
'Amk, *see* 'AMUQ.
'Amq, *see* 'AMUQ.
'AMUQ ('Amq, 'Amk), plain of Antioch.
Antioch, plain of, *see* 'AMUQ.
Ashkelon, *see* ASKALON.
ASKALON, Ashkelon.
Balata, *see* SHECHEM.
Beisan, *see* BETH SHAN.
Beth Pelet, *see* TELL FAR'A.
BETH SHAN, Beisan, Tell el Husn.
Beth Shemesh, *see* 'AIN SHEMS.
BYBLOS, Jebail (Djébail), Gebal.
Djébail, *see* BYBLOS.
Gath, *see* TELL ES SAFIYEH.
GAZA (N.B. 'ancient Gaza' = TELL AJJUL).
Gebal, *see* BYBLOS.
GERAR, Tell Jemmeh.
GEZER, Tell Jezar (near Abu Shusheh).
GHARIFEH.
JAT (Jath, Jatt).
Jath, *see* JAT.
Jatt, *see* JAT.
Jebail, *see* BYBLOS.
JERICHO, Tell es Sultan.
KADESH (Qadesh), Tell Nebi Mend.
KATNA (Qatna), Mishrifeh (Mecherfé).
KHAN SHEIKHOUN.
KHIRBET SELIM.
LACHISH, Tell ed Duweir.
Mecherfé, *see* KATNA.
MEGIDDO, Tell el Mutesellim.
MINET EL BEIDA (port quarter of RAS SHAMRA).
Mishrifeh, *see* KATNA.
Qadesh, *see* KADESH.
Qatna, *see* KATNA.
Ramat Gan, *see* TELL GERISHEH.
RAS SHAMRA (Ras esh Shamra), Ugarit.
SABUNI.
Sarafend, *see* SAREPTA.
SAREPTA, Sarafend.
SHECHEM, Balata.
Ta'anach, *see* TELL TA'ANNEK.
TELL ABU HAWAM.
TELL ACHARI (Tell Ashary).
TELL AJJUL, ancient Gaza.
Tell Ashary, *see* TELL ACHARI.
TELL ATCHANA, Tell 'Atshanah.
Tell 'Atshanah, *see* TELL ATCHANA.
TELL BEIT MIRSIM.
Tell ed Duweir, *see* LACHISH.
TELL EL HESY, formerly identified, erroneously, with ancient Lachish.
Tell el Husn, *see* BETH SHAN.

Tell el Mutesellim, *see* MEGIDDO.
TELL ES SAFIYEH, probably = Gath.
Tell es Sultan, *see* JERICHO.
TELL FAR'A, Beth Pelet.
TELL GERISHEH, Ramat Gen.
Tell Jemmeh, *see* GERAR.
Tell Jezar, *see* GEZER.
Tell Nebi Mend, *see* KADESH.
TELL TA'ANNEK (Tell Ti'innik), Ta'anach.
TELL TAINAT.
Tell Ti'innik, *see* TELL TA'ANNEK.
Ugarit, *see* RAS SHAMRA.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

For convenience of reference I append here a table giving Furumark's dating for the successive phases of Mycenaean pottery:

Mycenaean I		*c.* 1550–1500 B.C.
,,	II A	1500–1450
,,	II B	1450–1425
,,	III A 1	1425–1400
,,	III A 2 (early)	1400–1375
,,	III A 2 (later)	1375–1300
,,	III B	1300–1230
,,	III C 1 *a*	1230–1200
,,	III C 1 *b*	1200–1125
,,	III C 1 *c*	1125–1075
,,	III C 2	1075–1025

(The arguments on which Furumark bases this table of dates are set out in his *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* and in *AIRRS*. x, pp. 194 ff.)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SCHLIEMANN'S excavations at Mycenae, begun in 1874, revealed a centre to which to relate the pre-Greek antiquities collected during the previous decade by Cesnola in Cyprus and by Biliotti and Salzmann in Rhodes;[1] and Flinders Petrie, excavating in 1891 at Tell el Amarna, was consequently able with some assurance to identify certain imported pottery among his finds as 'Mykenaean'. The culture discovered by Arthur Evans in his earliest campaigns at Knossos was also at first labelled Mycenaean, until the gradual revelation there of a distinct 'Minoan' civilization led him to shift the centre from Mycenae to Knossos, and to regard the obviously related finds in Greece, Rhodes, and Cyprus, all as derivatives or offshoots of Minoan. Subsequent work has slowly produced greater precision; and we are now able to speak of a 'Helladic' culture in mainland Greece, which in its third phase, Late Helladic, is vigorously modified by Minoan influences to produce a civilization properly called Mycenaean. With the collapse of Minoan power about 1400 B.C. this becomes the dominant cultural force in the Aegean world, and extends a lively influence throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

Since Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae gave it a name, pottery characteristic of this civilization has been discovered in many parts of Greece and the Aegean islands; there have been new finds in Rhodes and some other islands of the Dodecanese, and in Cyprus; and it has turned up, though with lesser frequency, at a number of sites in non-Greek lands around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. In this mass of material, noticeable first for its common 'Mycenaean' character, a wide variety, only to be expected in the products of almost five centuries of development, soon became apparent to archaeologists. The chief developments in time were recognized by the classification of Late Helladic I, II and III, devised by Wace and Blegen; but the Late Helladic III material, representing the three whole centuries subsequent to the fall of Minoan power, long remained in need of adequate subdivision; and the want has been all the more serious because it was in this period that Mycenaean pottery was most widely distributed, both in Greece and in the Levant. The chief obstacle to classification was the remarkable conservatism and unity of style; but the accumulation and study of a still growing mass of finds has gradually made possible the differentiation of successive phases, and recently Dr A. Furumark of Uppsala, by a careful analysis,[1] has produced a detailed chronological scheme (to which I shall refer again later in this chapter) for the whole range of Mycenaean pottery.

---

[1] Cf. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 303.

But if the chronological classification of Mycenaean pottery is thus fairly well defined, much still remains to do in the study of its distribution and its regional variations. Furumark's work does indeed recognize that such variations occur, notably in Rhodes and Cyprus; but it seems likely that other local variations may occur within Greece itself. I have myself endeavoured to show,[2] for example, that in the Mycenaean pottery of Attica there occur certain forms and features which are unusual in other parts of Greece. Further study on these lines is desirable, and both chronological and regional classification must ultimately be considered in conjunction with the actual distribution of finds. So used, they may provide evidence of great value for the history of trade and colonization.[3]

The present study is an attempt to apply this combined approach to the Mycenaean pottery found in what are now the countries of Syria and the Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt. It would be desirable to include Asia Minor as well, but for the reasons stated in Appendix A it has not been possible to treat of this region as its historical importance properly demands.

In the areas under consideration Mycenaean pottery is obviously a foreign ware. One problem therefore is to decide whether the pottery is imported or locally made; if imported, there arises the question of its place of origin; if locally made, the question of the extent to which Mycenaean culture or settlers had penetrated the region. These questions are only partially answerable on the evidence of the pottery alone, to which the present inquiry is confined; and a complete answer would demand a knowledge of several civilizations besides the Mycenaean, to which the author does not pretend. Those scholars, on the other hand, who have such knowledge, may be less familiar with the Mycenaean civilization; and even a partial contribution to these problems therefore seems worth attempting.

The Mycenaean pottery from eastern Mediterranean lands has, moreover, a special bearing on chronological questions. Since Greece has for the Bronze Age no recorded chronology it is only by cultural cross-contacts with the civilizations of the Near East that any absolute dating can be arrived at. The Mycenaean pottery from Tell el Amarna is the classic instance of the value of such contacts; and other evidence of the same kind has been marshalled and examined by Furumark.[1] But though it is the Mycenaean archaeologist who has most to gain in this respect, Mycenaean pottery may theoretically at least be of similar service to the archaeologist working on an undated site in Palestine or Syria, though in the past such a use of Mycenaean finds in the Near East has been limited by the lack of any adequate chronological classification. Now that this defect is largely supplied, a reconsideration of the Mycenaean material from past excavations may assist in interpreting future finds.

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[1] In *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification* and *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery.*

[2] In *BSA.* XLII, p. 1 ff.

[3] Cf. A. J. B. Wace and C. W. Blegen in *Klio,* XXXII, pp. 131 ff.

At a very early stage in the work it was apparent that much of the Mycenaean pottery from Syria and Palestine bears a close affinity with that from Cyprus; and that a chapter on Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus must therefore be included for comparative purposes. The material from Cyprus is perhaps more familiar (though much of it is by no means well published) than that from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, partly because it is more plentiful, partly because it has been the subject of controversy; and it has consequently been possible to frame this chapter on more general lines than the rest. Much the same applies to the pottery from Rhodes, a chapter on which is included for similar reasons. A full logical extension of this approach would of course demand chapters on the material from mainland Greece in its various regions; and there is undoubtedly room for a complete survey on these lines, though it does not appear essential to a study of the Mycenaean pottery from the eastern Mediterranean, which presents a certain integral unity.

In the classification of the pottery under discussion I have followed in its main outlines the system of Furumark, which is the most complete that has so far been made. It recognizes ten phases:

Mycenaean	I	*c.* 1550–1500 B.C.
,,	IIA	1500–1450
,,	IIB	1450–1425
,,	IIIA1	1425–1400
,,	IIIA2 (early)	1400–1375
,,	IIIA2 (later)	1375–1300
,,	IIIB	1300–1230
,,	IIIC1*a*	1230–1200
,,	IIIC1*b*	1200–1125
,,	IIIC1*c*	1125–1075
,,	IIIC2	1075–1025

I am not entirely convinced that there is yet sufficient evidence firmly to distinguish two phases of Myc. II; and the subdivision of the Myc. IIIA phase

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[1] *CMP.* pp. 110 ff.

I have used only where it appears relevant to the discussion in hand. For some areas it has seemed most suitable to consider Myc. IIIA1 pots together with Myc. II; for other areas I have taken all IIIA together.

In the use of the terms 'Mycenaean' and 'Late Helladic' I have not been wholly consistent. I still feel that 'Late Helladic' is more explicit in certain contexts to describe the late Bronze Age pottery of Greece itself; but I agree with Furumark that 'Mycenaean' is more suitable and convenient when speaking of pottery of 'Late Helladic' style from regions outside Greece, since the term 'Mycenaean' is already well established in a purely cultural signification, while 'Late Helladic' tends to have a geographical as well as a cultural sense.[1] I see no harm in this inconsistency provided it does not lead to ambiguities.

The shapes of pots are described by the names usual among English students of Greek prehistoric archaeology; but as many of these names are generic rather than specific in their connotation I have usually though not invariably added the type-numbers from the catalogue given by Furumark in his *Mycenaean Pottery*.[2] I have also from time to time given a reference to his lists and diagrams of decorative motifs in order to supplement or clarify verbal description.

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[1] This is a partial withdrawal of what I said in *JHS.* LXIII, p. 123.

[2] *MP.* pp. 583 ff. and figs. 3–20. For clarity the type-numbers are quoted with the letter F prefixed.

CHAPTER II

MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN RHODES

The importance of Rhodes as a centre of Mycenaean civilization has long been evident from the great number of Mycenaean tombs which have been discovered there during the past seventy or eighty years. In fact the first Mycenaean pots to attract the serious attention of archaeologists were found in Rhodes,[1] several years before Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae. But although since these early finds there has been much digging throughout the island, varying from antique-looting by villagers to official archaeological exploration,[2] and the Mycenaean pottery of Rhodes is better represented in western museums than that of almost any other area, the history of the island in the late Bronze Age is still obscure. Only the tombs opened by the Italian archaeological mission at Ialysos between 1914 and 1928, and at Kalavarda (Kamiros) in 1930, have been adequately published;[3] and it is consequently impossible to know for certain to what stage of Mycenaean culture many of the cemeteries (much less individual tombs) belonged.

An attempt has been made, in Fig. 1, to summarize the available information about the distribution of Mycenaean finds in the island. The main map is based on that of R. U. Ingliere,[4] and shows all the recorded sites. With the exception of Trianda, all were tombs, from many of which no objects or descriptions of the contents survive. The summary account of the Mycenaean cemeteries of Rhodes by A. Maiuri[5] enables us to give approximate dates to some of the sites, and this has been used in compiling the distribution-maps for the successive phases of L.H. III. But the exact provenance of the pottery described and illustrated by Maiuri is not always clear: for example, pots in the Rhodes Museum described as from 'Vati' or 'Vathy' may come from either of two recorded sites (Angio Vuno and Apsaktiras) near that village, and so in a number of instances.[6] The same applies to the pots in Copenhagen[7] and elsewhere. For this reason no names have been attached to the find-spots in the small maps; they are approximate and tentative merely. With few exceptions the sites are near the coast, a fact which perhaps reflects the primarily maritime and commercial interests of the Mycenaean settlers as well as the mountainous nature of the interior. The expansion from IIIA to IIIB is noticeable: by the IIIB period the whole island has been penetrated, and the position is maintained in IIIC.

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[1] By A. Biliotti, excavating on behalf of the British Museum, 1868–71.

[2] See A. Maiuri, 'Le necropole micenee dell' isola di Rodi', in *Ann.* vi–vii, pp. 251 ff.

[3] *Ann.* vi–vii, pp. 86 ff.; xiii–xiv, pp. 254 ff.; *Clara Rhodos*, vi–vii, pp. 133 ff.

[4] *Carta Archeologica di Rodi* (1936).

[5] In *Ann.* vi–vii, pp. 251 ff.

[6] For convenience, villages so mentioned—Vathy, Apollakia, Kastello, etc.—are shown on the main map in addition to the actual sites.

[7] *CVA. Copenhagen 1–2*, pls. 39 ff.

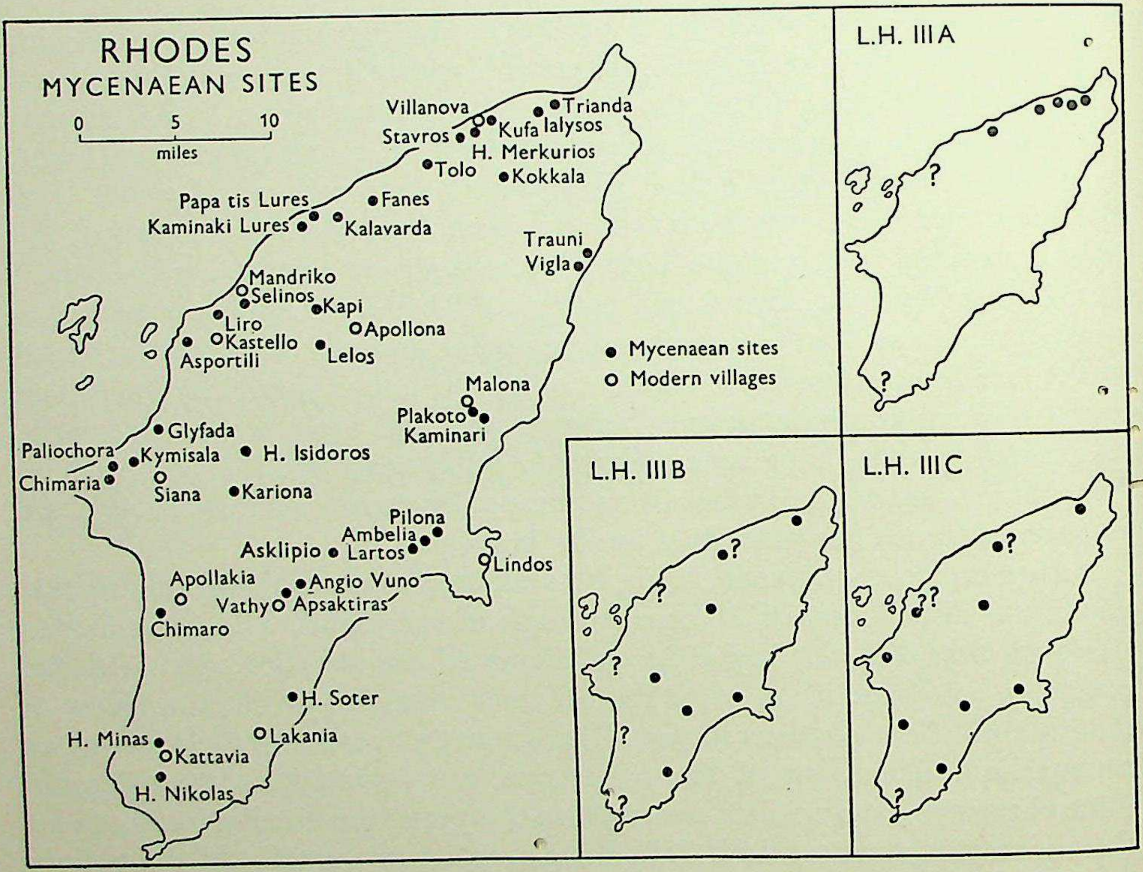
RHODES
MYCENAEAN SITES
0
5
10
miles
Villanova
Trianda
Stavros
Kufa
Ialysos
H. Merkurios
Tolo
Kokkala
Papa tis Lures
Fanes
Kaminaki Lures
Kalavarda
Trauni
Vigla
Mandriko
Selinos
Kapi
Liro
Apollona
Kastello
Asportili
Lelos
Mycenaean sites
Modern villages
Malona
Plakoto
Kaminari
Glyfada
Paliochora
Kymisala
H. Isidoros
Chimaria
Siana
Kariona
Pilona
Ambelia
Asklipio
Lartos
Lindos
Apollakia
Angio Vuno
Vathy
Apsaktiras
Chimaro
H. Soter
H. Minas
Lakania
Kattavia
H. Nikolas
L.H. IIIA
L.H. IIIB
L.H. IIIC
?

FIG. 1. Distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Rhodes.

The one settlement site which has been explored, near the village of Trianda in the Ialysos area, deserves further discussion. The excavation was carried out by G. Monaco in 1935–6, and the results are described by him in *Clara Rhodos*, x, pp. 41 ff. Careful and painstaking as it is, this report nevertheless misses some of its potential value by not distinguishing clearly, among the sherds from the three levels of the site, between Minoan and Helladic, a distinction which is essential if we are to draw any sound historical conclusions. This defect should be rectified by a re-examination of the finds shortly to be published by Dr A. Furumark,[1] to whom I am indebted for an advance summary of the results of his study. Three levels are distinguishable on the site, the third marking a reconstruction of the houses after a serious earthquake. Furumark calls these levels Trianda I, IIA and IIB, and classifies as follows the pottery found *in situ* on the floor levels:

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[1] In *AIRRS*.

TRIANDA I

Somewhat advanced Late Minoan IA.
Plain domestic ware of Minoan types.

TRIANDA IIA

Sub-L.M. IA (contemporary with L.M. IB at Knossos etc.).
Plain domestic ware of Minoan types.
(Many sherds of imported L.M. IB and Myc. IIA, also some local imitations of same. A few Myc. IIIA2 fragments intrusive.)

TRIANDA IIB

Sub-L.M. IA (contemporary with L.M. II at Knossos).
L.M. IIIA1 (rare).
Myc. IIIA1.
Plain domestic ware of Minoan types.
Plain domestic ware of Mycenaean types.
Cypriote red lustrous flask.
(Some sherds of L.M. IA–B and Myc. IIB.)

From this analysis of the pottery, together with the evidence of architecture and wall-paintings, Furumark draws the following conclusions:

> Trianda was a Minoan settlement (culturally; we know nothing certain about its political status). As shown by other evidence, Mycenaean colonists established themselves in Rhodes in Myc. IIB or at the beginning of Myc. IIIA1. For some time Trianda IIB existed side by side with the new Mycenaean colony (or colonies), as shown by the fact that Mycenaean types—certainly of Rhodian manufacture and including domestic pots—were used in the old Minoan settlement alongside of pottery manufactured on the spot and belonging to the local Minoan tradition. The relations with the Rhodian Mycenaeans seem to have been friendly at this time. Then Trianda was suddenly deserted, say, about 1410 B.C. and probably just after the fall of Knossos. The manufacture in Rhodes of Minoan ware stops. This must mean that after the fall of the Minoan central power the Rhodian outpost underwent the same fate.

The important new fact that emerges from the excavations is that the settlement was a Minoan one. A Mycenaean settlement in this area was already implied by the extensive Ialysos cemeteries, Mycenaean in both type and contents, with the earliest of the tombs dating (as will be shown in more detail below) from Myc. IIB. For a Minoan settlement the evidence was previously lacking. Whether Minoan occupation of Rhodes goes back any further than the earliest level at Trianda is as yet uncertain. The excavations so far carried out do not suggest it, but only a part of the site has been dug. Nor do we yet know the exact location of the Mycenaean settlement, which, as the Ialysos cemeteries prove, must have continued to flourish long after the desertion of Trianda. The Mycenaeans had come to stay, and as the Myc. III period advances their remains are more and more widely distributed in the island, not only near the coasts, but even well into the interior. It is clear from the pottery, the successive phases of which are now to be examined, that Rhodes was culturally in the closest touch with Mycenaean Greece; but some independent characteristics are observable.

1. MYCENAEAN II AND IIIA1

It has already been mentioned that the earliest Mycenaean pottery in Rhodes dates from the Myc. II phase. It is little in quantity, and might be explained as evidence of trade only, had it not been found in two chamber tombs of Mycenaean type which must indicate the presence of Mycenaean settlers in the island. Moreover, these tombs contain also some slightly later pots of the transitional IIIA1 phase, which is more fully represented from other tombs. The following is a summary of the finds of these two phases, all from Ialysos:[1]

Tomb XXXVI (Italian excavations).[2]

Two burial periods were represented, the earlier by four or five skeletons pushed together into a corner and by numerous smashed pots, of which two were capable of restoration, viz.:

(1) A large jug with beaked spout, type F143 (*Ann.* VI–VII, p. 185, fig. 108).
(2) A small piriform jar, type F31, with decoration of hooked spirals on the shoulder and horizontal stripes below.

These are dated by Furumark (*CMP.* p. 75) to IIB and IIIA1 respectively. (The later burials were of the IIIC period.)

Tomb XXXVII (Italian excavations).[3]

There was evidence of two burial periods, but with only a short interval between, since all the pottery falls within the period IIB–IIIA1, viz.:

IIB: No. 1. Large ovoid jar, type F22, decorated in two broad zones with a pattern of curvilinear triangles and pendent loops of dots (*Ann.* VI–VII, p. 186, fig. 109).

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[1] Cf. *CMP.* pp. 42, 52 ff.

[2] *Ann.* VI–VII, pp. 184 ff.

[3] *Ann.* VI–VII, pp. 186 ff.

No. 7. Small piriform jar, type F 30, with vertical handles, with a deep zone of net pattern on the upper part (*ibid.* fig. 110).

No. 2. Broad low jug, with horizontal beak-spout, type F 104, decorated with a large network pattern (*ibid.* fig. 110).

IIIA1: Nos. 9, 10. Two shallow, saucer-like cups, type F 219, one stipple-painted, the other decorated with a version of the running spiral pattern.

No. 11. Kylix, type F 255 (broad bowl, ribbon handles), decorated with simple running spiral.

Nos. 4, 5. Two pyxides, type F 93 (broad and low), with hooked spirals round the sides (*ibid.* figs. 109, 111, 112).

No. 6. Small piriform jar, type F 31 (variety *a*(1), with rather straight profile). Decorated with a conventionalized 'argonaut' pattern on the shoulder (cf. *MP.* fig. 50, motif 22:16).

No. 8. Small piriform jar, type F 31 (variety *a*(2), with concave profile), with hooked spirals on the shoulder (*ibid.* fig. 112).

No. 3. Large jug with beak-spout, type F 144, with argonaut design on the body.

Note. It should be observed that there is insufficient evidence available to associate the above pots individually with the earlier or later burials in the tomb; and the division into IIB and IIIA1 (in which I follow Furumark) is stylistic, and to that extent arbitrary.

In the following tombs pots of the IIIA1 phase have been found, but none which are clearly earlier:

Tomb XVIII (Italian excavations).[1]

The few pots in this tomb included an early piriform jar of a slender shape, with a triple-stemmed ivy-leaf pattern (*Ann.* VI–VII, p. 127, fig. 48). This must belong to the very beginning of Myc. IIIA, if not to the end of Myc. IIB.

Tomb XIX (Italian excavations).[2]

Two pots apparently associated with the latest burial are probably IIIA2, as are a number of others from this tomb;[3] but the earliest date from IIIA1, e.g.:

Nos. 1, 3, 4. Three piriform jars (type F 31): one, with net pattern on the shoulder, illustrated in *Ann., loc. cit.* fig. 52; another with hooked spirals, *CVA. Rhodes* 2, pl. 4. 3.

No. 2. Large alabastron (type F 84), decorated with wave pattern with knobbed spikes (*Ann., loc. cit.* fig. 49).

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[1] *Ann.* VI–VII, pp. 127 f.

[2] *Ann.* VI–VII, pp. 128 ff.

[3] *CMP.* p. 63, and *Ann., loc. cit.*

No. 13. Two small alabastra with triple-stemmed ivy-leaf pattern.

This tomb also contained a jar of distinctly Minoan (L.M. III) style,[1] which suggests that the tomb may have been in use while Minoan culture still flourished in the island at Trianda or elsewhere.

A fair number of pots of the IIIA 1 phase also came to light in the earlier excavations at Ialysos, and are now in the British Museum. The chief examples are as follows:

Tomb A (Biliotti's excavations).[2]

BM. Cat. A 822, pl. XI and fig. 193. Large piriform jar (F26) with large conventional ivy-leaf pattern in shoulder area. (Pl. I, 11.)

BM. Cat. A 823, pl. X. Small piriform jar (F31: type with vertical handles, flat lip, and fairly straight body profile). Hooked spirals on shoulder. (Pl. I, 9.)

Tomb 23 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 816, fig. 190. Pyxis (F93). Hooked spirals on shoulder and sides. (Pl. I, 2.)

Tomb 24 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 813, pl. X. Alabastron, flat type (F84), with wave pattern; stemmed spiral above. (Pl. I, 4.)

BM. Cat. A 864, pl. XIV: *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 25. Kylix (F255) decorated with hooked spirals. (Pl. III, 2.) Another variety of this type, with a deeper and more bulging bowl, and decorated in a more rigid style, is represented by a kylix in Copenhagen—*CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 52. 9.

Tomb 26 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 826, fig. 194. Small piriform jar (F31). Net pattern on shoulder. (Pl. I, 6.)

BM. Cat. A 876, fig. 209. Jug, tall piriform type with beaked spout (F133). Decorated with vertical wavy stripes. (Pl. I, 7.)

Tomb 28 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 824. Small piriform jar (F31). Hooked spirals on shoulder. (Pl. I, 3.)

BM. Cat. A 858, fig. 204; *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 7. Kylix, plain type with deep bowl and flat handles (F264). Of smooth unpainted yellow clay, not unlike that of the L.H. II Ephyraean type.

Tomb 29 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 812, fig. 188. Alabastron, flat type (F84). Wave pattern, with three stars in the field above; wavy cross on base. (Pl. I, 8.)

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[1] *Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 50.

[2] On this 'tomb', see *BM. Cat.* I, i, p. 1.

BM. Cat. A 859, pl. X; *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 3. Kylix (F264), very similar to A 858.

Tomb 30 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 825, pl. X. Small piriform jar (F31). Net pattern on shoulder. (Pl. I, 1.)

Tomb 32 (Biliotti's excavations).

BM. Cat. A 815, pl. X. Pyxis (F93). Hooked spirals on shoulder and sides. (Pl. I, 5.)

Also from Ialysos, though without more specific provenance, is *BM. Cat.* A 828, pl. XII, a large piriform jar (F19). On the shoulder is a handsome lily design reminiscent of L.H. II decoration. (Pl. I, 10.) The body is rather more globular than A 822, implying a slightly later date.

With few exceptions these have all been noted by Forsdyke[1] as being the earliest of the Ialysos pottery in the British Museum; and Furumark[2] agrees in classing them as IIIA1, though he would make the jug A 876 'early IIIA2'.

The material described above amply proves that a Mycenaean settlement flourished at Ialysos from the very beginning of Myc. III, and was in all probability established even a little earlier. From other Mycenaean cemeteries in Rhodes, however, there is little of this early date, with the exception of two pots from a tomb at Tolon,[3] a few miles from Ialysos. These are:

(*a*) a globular jar (F77), stipple-painted;

(*b*) a medium-sized piriform jar (F31) with fairly deep neck and vertical handles; decorated with a deep zone of net pattern, and broad and narrow stripes below.

The pottery of these earliest phases exhibits no features which are not equally to be found in the Mycenaean pottery from other regions, and there is thus no clear indication whether it is locally made or imported.

2. MYCENAEAN IIIA2

For the Myc. IIIA2 phase the material is much more plentiful, though it is still not very widely distributed through the island. Ialysos provides the bulk of it, but there is also some from Kalavarda, in the vicinity of ancient Kamiros. The greater bulk of pottery of this phase makes a more general analysis possible: the chief pot-types and the characteristics of their decoration are detailed below:[1]

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[1] *BM. Cat.* I, i, p. 145, note on A 822.

[2] *MP.*, type catalogue *passim*, and *CMP.* p. 53, under 'Ialysos OT. 28, 29'.

[3] *Clara Rhodos*, VI–VII, p. 44 and fig. 46.

Kraters. The neckless krater of roughly conical or piriform shape (F8) is represented by only a few examples. One in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 874) from the old excavations at Ialysos, is decorated with a network pattern derived from the L.H. II 'ogival canopy' motif (Pl. II, 3). Another, from the Italian excavations at the same site, has a large running spiral pattern round the bowl (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 143). A second example in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 875) appears to me from the repeated murex ornament round the bowl to be rather later than these (Pl. V, 3). The krater in Copenhagen from Apollakia (*CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 49. 5), which Furumark[2] classes as IIIA, is in my opinion rather of the IIIB shape, and the decoration (a network filled with an inverted N-motif) does not look earlier than that.

The necked krater (F54), a type which as we shall see was very popular in Cyprus, is rare in Rhodes. There are three examples from the Italian excavations at Ialysos. One has a linear flower-pattern repeated round the shoulder (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 8; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 5. 5); another bears what seems to be an unskilful imitation[3] of the chariot scenes so common on this vase-type in Cyprus (*Ann.* VI–VII, figs. 74, 75); the third also has a chariot scene, but indistinguishable in style from Cypriot examples[4] (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 149; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 4. 4, 5). A similar piece, from some unspecified Rhodian site, is in Munich (*Munich Cat.* no. 47, fig. 7). Such kraters are so much more usual in Cyprus that it is difficult not to believe these examples are imports, except for the second one mentioned above, which seems imitative in style.

Cups. Three main types of cup occur in this phase. First is the shallow, saucer-shape (F220), a slight modification of the Myc. II and IIIA1 variety, and similar to it in decoration. It is in fact often difficult to decide the date of these cups; but on the later ones the 'stippled' painting does not persist, and the spiral patterns become gradually more simplified. This type is not common in Rhodes, and does not, as in Cyprus, give rise to any regional variants in shape or style. Rather more frequent is the small tankard or mug (F225 and 256), a type, like the preceding one, with metallic antecedents,[5] which appears in the IIIA phase, though it is more characteristic of IIIB. The example from Ialysos Tomb XIX (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 52) is probably IIIA; so is a very fine piece, with neatly drawn spirals, in Copenhagen (*CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 48. 9), and perhaps also the one from Ialysos Tomb XXVIII (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 8). But I would date rather later the examples in the British Museum (*CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 13, 22) which Furumark[1] gives to IIIA2. The bell-shaped cup (F230)—one of the most elegant of all Mycenaean shapes—is more in keeping with IIIA, and the decoration of several examples goes to confirm their IIIA date: e.g. one from Ialysos Tomb XXVIII (no. 12, *Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 81), with repeated spirals round the bowl; another from Tomb VII (*op. cit.* p. 111, no. 8), which though simpler in decoration is in fabric and paint typical of IIIA; and a similar one from the older excavations at Ialysos, in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 840, fig. 199; *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 16).

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[1] This list, like that for IIIB below, is not exhaustive. Its purpose is simply to draw attention to what is characteristic.

[2] *MP.* p. 586, type 8:4.

[3] Cf. *MP.* p. 334.

[4] E.g. Pl. VII, 4, 5.

[5] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 64.

Somewhat between a cup and a bowl is Furumark's type 242—a roughly hemispherical vessel with one horizontal loop-handle. Most examples of this shape are probably of IIIB date; but one in Copenhagen (*CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 54. 13) is decorated with hooked spirals of IIIA2 style. The type is rare in mainland Greece, with the exception of Attica.[2] It is not clear where it first appears, but it may perhaps owe its origin to the influence of the contemporary Cypriot 'milk-bowls' of White Slip ware.

These are not the only cup-types occurring in Rhodes in the IIIA phase; but the others, such as the ladle with high-swung handle (F236) and the spouted 'patera', also with a high handle (F253), are represented by few examples, and can hardly be regarded as characteristic.

Kylikes. The kylikes of the IIIA phase in Rhodes fall into two main classes: those which are plain or painted all over, and those with decorative painting. The former generally have a comparatively low stem and a deep, rounded bowl, with two vertical handles placed either at the rim (F 264 and 265) or somewhat below (F269). They are known from several sites (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 53, nos. 9 and 12 from Siana or Kastellos, nos 10, 14 and 15 from Apollakia, no. 11 unknown provenance; *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 1, 5, from Ialysos). The red painted type is fairly frequent in tombs in Attica, though not elsewhere. There is, however, evidence to show that at Mycenae it was by no means rare.[3]

Of the decorated type one variety (F256) has a deep bulging bowl not unlike the IIIA1 type (F255), but the 'ribbon' handles of the latter are replaced by handles of round section. Two good examples, one 'from Rhodes' the other from Vati, are illustrated in *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 50. 1, 2. Both are decorated with a large stylized Cephalopod, covering the whole bowl. This variety gives place to one with a shallower, more conical bowl (F257) on which the decoration is generally confined to a horizontal zone below the lip. There are numerous examples, and the type persists into the IIIB phase with so little modification that it is often hard to date individual specimens. The decoration does, however, sometimes serve as a guide, and I think a safer one than minor variations in shape (lip, method of attaching handles, etc.). The running spiral pattern characteristic of the shallow one-handled cup occurs on some specimens (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 51. 9–11), and must surely belong to the IIIA phase; so must some of the flower-patterns (e.g. *loc. cit.* nos. 4, 7, 8; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 12. 7), which have counterparts on contemporary stirrup-jars; also, I think, certain derivatives of the 'ogival canopy' motif (e.g. Pl. III, 5 and *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 52. 1–5)[1] and some of the 'octopus' patterns (Pl. III, 1, 6, 7); no. 3, with no superimposed white paint, is perhaps IIIB. Equally there are some patterns, as will be shown later, which obviously belong rather to the IIIB phase. Yet for many of these kylikes there seems no certain criterion of date. Furumark does indeed assign dates to almost all the published pieces, but after careful study of his lists[2] I still feel that much of the differentiation of types and periods is subjective. If only more of them had come from properly documented excavations, we might be able to formulate a chronological series by the evidence of find-associations; typological study alone is inadequate. One thing, however, is clear, that these painted kylikes are in Rhodes far more numerous than in the Argolid; in fact the only part of Greece to produce a comparable proportion of them is Attica.[3] It is possible that this is due to the luck of excavation, or to varying custom with regard to grave furniture; but they also show a more varied repertory of patterns than is to be found on the kylikes on the mainland, on which the flower motifs are not frequent, the 'ogival canopy' even rarer, and anything as ambitious as birds (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 53. 8; *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 110, fig. 30) quite unknown.

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[1] *MP.* p. 623, type 225, nos. 7, 8.

[2] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 35 and pl. 9.

[3] See *BSA.* XLII, pp. 27–8 and pl. 4. 4–6.

Alabastra and pyxides. Broadly speaking the alabastron (F85) disappears during this phase, and is replaced by the straight-sided pyxis (F94); but in Rhodes neither seems to be very frequent, or to show any unusual features of style.

Jars. The typical small piriform jars of the IIIA2 phase are not at all numerous; but large piriform jars (averaging about 45 cm. high), with three vertical handles and a comparatively deep and narrow neck (F34 and 35), have long been recognized as characteristic of Mycenaean pottery in Rhodes. In general form they are derived from the big 'Palace Style' amphorae of

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[1] Furumark, however, dates nos. 1, 3, 4 to IIIB.

[2] Under types 256–9, *MP.* pp. 628 f.

[3] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, pl. 4 *passim.*

L.M. II. The foot, neck, and handles are generally painted all over; the lower part of the body encircled by groups of broad stripes; decorative patterns are confined to a zone on the shoulder, not descending much below the level of the handles, except on the earlier specimens.

Examples: Pl. II, 4 and *Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 26, with floral designs interspersed with small plastic knobs; Pl. II, 2, with a conventionalized argonaut; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 4. 1, with a network and star pattern not very far removed from Myc. II versions of this design.[1]

The narrowing of this decorative zone is accompanied by a simplification of the patterns used. Floral patterns continue, but are more restricted (e.g. *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 2. 8); carefully drawn linked spirals and scale patterns of various forms also become common (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 40. 2–6, spirals; *CVA. GB. 5*, pl. 2. 7 and Pl. II, 1, scale patterns).

Jugs. The tall-necked piriform jugs of the preceding phase give place in IIIA2 to a similar but more pronouncedly piriform shape, with two or three handles[2] instead of one (F150 and 151). For the decoration of vertical wavy stripes is substituted a scheme of horizontal stripes and lines, as on most stirrup-jars of this phase. The shoulder zone, between the handles, is occupied by a repeated flower motif (again as on a stirrup-jar), and there is sometimes a zone of flowers or chevrons around the body of the vase. The type is not peculiar to Rhodes, but seems somewhat more frequent there than elsewhere, like the tall piriform stirrup-jar to which it is so closely related in both form and decoration.

Examples: with two handles: *CVA. Pays-Bas 1*, pl. 12. 3, from Kamiros; *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 56. 9; with three handles: Pl. II, 6; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 11. 1 (with a fine zone of flowers round the body);[3] *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 56. 11 (zone of chevrons).

The broader beak-spouted jug (F144 and 145) suffers a somewhat comparable change in the manner of decoration. The free-field scheme of Myc. IIIA1 is deserted in favour of a simple arrangement of stripes round the body, with a more decorative pattern on the shoulder (e.g. a floral motif: Pl. II, 5; network, *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 44. 6; *Clara Rhodos*, VI–VII, figs. 165, 166). Whereas in mainland Greece this shape of jug dies out in the course of the IIIA phase, in Rhodes it was probably increasing in popularity, since varieties of it are quite frequent in IIIB and later.

There also occur a few examples of a small globular type of jug with a comparatively wide neck (F113 and 114), decorated quite simply with horizontal stripes and lines (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 45. 6–8. The last has a chevron motif on the shoulder: the simplified stripe-scheme may indicate a lower date for this piece).

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[1] E.g. *Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 110.

[2] A one-handled variety does occur exceptionally: *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 56. 8.

[3] Cf. certain stirrup-jars, e.g. *BSA.* XLII, pl. 1. 10, 11.

Stirrup-jars. The tall piriform stirrup-jar (F165 and 166) is characteristic of Myc. IIIA2 in Rhodes, though in Greece itself it is a rare shape. The reason for this is difficult to discern. The stirrup-jar in general was late in arriving in Greece, where it is practically unknown before L.H. III; yet the form was developed in Crete as early as L.M. I.[1]

Perhaps the mainland potters had difficulty in acquiring the special knack of making a completely closed pot. The piriform variety under discussion derives directly from L.M. II prototypes (e.g. A. Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 74, fig. 83) which may well have been more familiar in Rhodes than in Greece. Indeed actual fragments of such L.M. pots have been found in Rhodes (e.g. *Clara Rhodos*, x, p. 94, fig. 41, top left—from Trianda; *Ann.* vi–vii, fig. 88 (L.M. III)—from Ialysos, Tomb XXXI); but I know of none from the mainland. The Mycenaean (as opposed to Minoan) examples are characterized by the usual simplification of ornament, and its restriction to the shoulder of the pot. A few have also a patterned zone round the body (e.g. Pl. IV, 10, an unusually large pot); but horizontal stripes and lines are the normal arrangement (Pl. IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11).

The globular variety of stirrup-jar is by no means absent, but presents no features peculiar to Rhodes. Such pots, indeed, as Pl. IV, 5, 6 from Ialysos, might be regarded as very models of the normal and typical Myc. IIIA stirrup-jar. The depressed globular form (F178) is not common.

Pilgrim flask. The globular pilgrim flask (F188) is represented by a few examples, decorated in the usual way with concentric circles and with a simple linear pattern (chevrons, etc.) below the handles. (Examples in *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 48. 3–5; *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 2. 4, 6.)

Side-spouted jar with basket handle. This shape (F159 and 160) occurs both with striped decoration (e.g. *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 6. 6) and painted all over in red (e.g. Pl. II, 7, 8). Most examples are fairly small (*c.* 12 cm. high, including the handle).

Tripod basket-vase. Peculiar to Rhodes is a globular type of pot standing on three feet, with a large handle over the top. Over the mouth of the jar is a lid with a long oblique loop-handle passing round the main handle, so that the lid may be lifted off but not entirely removed from the pot. The handles, and the form of the feet, which often curl up at the bottom, and are grooved vertically as though composed of three separate pieces, suggest that the shape is copied from basketry. Frequently the decoration also seems intended to imitate basketwork, but a few have more typically Mycenaean patterns such as the running spiral (e.g. *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 1. 3). Generally these pots are coarsely made, and difficult to place stylistically; but some appear from their context to belong to the IIIA2 phase.

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[1] Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, pp. 423, 452.

The IIIA2 phase is, as Furumark rightly observes,[1] the period of the Mycenaean *koine*, a period in which regional variations of the Mycenaean style are at their minimum. The pottery from Rhodes bears this out well. The shapes which are specially frequent by comparison with other areas—the large piriform jars and the piriform stirrup-jars—are yet thoroughly Mycenaean in character; and the decoration of them involves no motifs or principles which are not found in other Mycenaean pottery. We cannot, in short, properly speak of a Rhodian *style* in this period: we can only observe certain Rhodian *preferences* in forms and decoration, preferences which are probably due to the nearness of Crete and to the more completely Minoan influence which survived in Rhodes. There can, however, be little doubt from the number and distribution of the finds that the pottery was in general made in Rhodes.

3. MYCENAEAN IIIB

The following list indicates the main modifications which occur in the various pot-shapes and in their decoration in the IIIB phase.

Kraters. The open krater (F8) tends to have a narrow base, producing a rather top-heavy appearance (e.g. *CVA. Rhodes 2*, pl. 6. 6). The general arrangement of decoration is unchanged, but the particular motifs are more formal in arrangement: contrast, for example, the fluid all-over effect of Pl. II, 3 (a IIIA specimen) with Pl. V, 3, or with two examples from Vati (in *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 49. 3, 4) on which the field is occupied by a stiff repetition of one vertical motif.

Bowls. A new shape in this phase is a bowl with an ogival profile (F290, 300, 301).[2] There are several varieties: with loop-handles, attached below the rim (F290, spoutless; F300, with spout), or with strap-handles attached at the rim (F301), and the profile varies very considerably.

The main proportions of the bowl are emphasized by horizontal bands of paint; patterned decoration is usually simple, and confined to the handle zone (e.g. running spiral, *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 6. 12). Such bowls are more frequent in the tombs of Rhodes than in those of the Argolid, though miniature specimens are not uncommon on the mainland.

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[1] *MP.* p. 521.

[2] Some examples appear in Greece in IIIA2, cf. *MP.* type-catalogue. But I doubt whether any of the Rhodian examples are earlier than IIIB.

The ordinary hemispherical bowls (F 284) which in mainland Greece are so characteristic of IIIB and C are frequent in Rhodes too. The date of individual specimens is sometimes difficult to assess but we should certainly place in IIIB (rather than IIIC) one from Ialysos with a 'tri-curved arch' pattern reminiscent of IIIA decoration (*Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 140, bottom left); also one in Copenhagen with a vertical murex ornament (*CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 54. 8); and one from Vati, with a repeated 'triple stem' pattern (*ibid.* no. 10). A rather later stage of IIIB is represented by another from Vati (*ibid.* no. 9) which illustrates the transition from a conventionalized octopus to the 'metope' or 'panel' style. Closely related in shape to this type is the one-handled bowl (F 242) already mentioned under IIIA 2.

Cups. A few of the shallow cups of type F 220 perhaps belong to IIIB, and also several of a similar shape with two small additional handles on the sides (F 245; examples: *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 15; *Ann.* VI–VII, fig. 67, both from Ialysos. The second has a typically IIIB murex ornament).

Some of the finest specimens of the tankard shape (F 226) belong to this phase. Although the surface is still usually divided by a horizontal stripe, the patterns sometimes ignore this, and run the full length of the pot: e.g. *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 23, with vertical murex ornament; *Copenhagen 1*, pl. 48. 10, with a linear pattern ultimately derived from the octopus. Some bell-shaped cups (e.g. *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 10) may be as late as IIIB; but the shape soon disappears, probably through assimilation to the smaller tankards. Compare, for example, *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5, nos. 13 and 14, where no. 13 has the handle attached as in the tankard type, but differs little in general from no. 14.

Kylikes. Plain kylikes seem on the whole rarer in IIIB than in IIIA, and the practice of coating the pot all over with red paint is discontinued. The difficulty of distinguishing, among the painted kylikes of Rhodes, between IIIA and IIIB has already been mentioned: among the designs which seem characteristically IIIB are various arrangements of the stylized murex and linear motifs derived from the octopus or Mycenaean flower, such as appear also in the well-known 'Zygouries' style. These may be placed vertically (Pl. III, 10; *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 52. 1–3, 5); but the murex also appears on its side (Pl. III, 8) or even in a diagonal grouping (*ibid.* no. 9). A motif peculiar to Rhodes is the linear 'tongue' such as appears on *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 52. 6. Similar in its wholly linear and abstract character is the pattern on a kylix shown in Pl. III, 4; yet it is paralleled on the stirrup-jar Pl. IV, 10 which by its piriform shape would seem IIIA.

Jars. The large piriform jars of III A show a gradual modification towards a more ovoid form. The general effect is heavier and sagging: the broadest diameter is lower down, the handles are somewhat lengthened, and the pattern zone between them accordingly increased in depth. The patterns themselves are simplified and less effective. Typical examples of developed III B character are: Pl. V, 4, from Ialysos; *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 39. 5, pl. 41. 1. In comparison with III A specimens, both form and decoration look as though they had been pulled out of shape. There is of course no rigid demarcation between the phases, and many intermediate varieties occur.

Jugs. The tall piriform jug disappears in III B. The broad beaked jug (F 145 and 146) undergoes a modification of shape comparable to that of the jars discussed above: the shoulder of the jug is more sloping, and the broadest diameter rather lower; and the spout is less well proportioned. The transition is illustrated by a jug in Copenhagen (*CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 45. 3, from Apollakia). Most of the more advanced instances of this development are by Furumark dated to III C 1—e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 44. 3–5, pl. 45. 1, 2—but the style of the first three of these seems to me more in keeping with an earlier date. Another probably III B piece is shown in Pl. V, 5. They are somewhat poorly executed, but that has not necessarily any archaeological significance. This is, of course, another instance where information about the context of the finds would make classification easier and surer.

Stirrup-jars. The stirrup-jar shapes of this phase are more varied than in III A: the tall piriform type goes out, though a few examples occur of a special variety with a widely flanged base (e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 57. 12, 13), something like an Attic variety of the III C period.[1] The ordinary globular form remains. New flat-topped varieties appear, some shallow and squat (F 183; e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 59. 1, 3, 5, 9), some deeper (F 182; e.g. Pl. IV, 9, 14; *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 58. 2–11). There are also shallow examples with less angular profile (F 180), roughly intermediate between the globular and the low flat shapes (e.g. *ibid.* pl. 59. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10). Certain features of decoration are common to all these varieties; in particular the greater variety of the shoulder motifs[2] and the introduction of a narrow patterned zone round the body[3] (see the examples already quoted and Pl. IV, 7, 12, 13). These features are not peculiar to Rhodes, but characteristic of III B stirrup-jars in most areas.

Pilgrim flasks. A new variety of flask appears, rather less spherical than the

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[1] See *BSA.* XLII, p. 20 and fig. 2 H.

[2] On a few the shoulder is plain; e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 59. 9, 10. This is a common feature in Cyprus.

[3] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 20–1.

IIIA type, and decorated like a stirrup-jar (e.g. Pl. V, 7). There are also some examples of an asymmetrical shape with no base, and with a single handle (F186; e.g. Pl. V, 6; *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 48. 1, 2).[1] This type does not, so far as I know, occur in mainland Greece.

It will be seen that in the development of a number of the Mycenaean types there is in Rhodes no clear line between 'IIIA' and 'IIIB'. It is a classification that is here only partially applicable. Furumark has already recognized this in distinguishing among Rhodian Mycenaean, often in the same context as ordinary IIIB, what he calls a 'sub-IIIA2 class', that is, an independent regional continuation and development of the IIIA2 style, with no pronounced IIIB features.[2] There is no 'universally valid distinction between Rhodo-Mycenaean IIIB decoration and that of other regions', but a few decorative features are observable which are not generally characteristic of the IIIB phase, while others survive from IIIA2. As Furumark himself points out, 'much of this class comes from unknown contexts and has to be dated by typological and stylistic criteria alone'.[3] Consequently, it is not always quite clear what particular details have led Furumark, in his type-lists, to class particular pots as IIIB rather than IIIA2; and in many cases he has frankly admitted the impossibility of discrimination by the ascription 'IIIA2/B'—which is, as he says, in these cases a stylistic rather than a chronological classification.[4] Whether or not we agree with the dating of individual pots given by Furumark, his general thesis on this point seems sound, and is further borne out by the continued survival in Rhodes, in the IIIC phase, of some features from IIIA2. The IIIB style was, in fact, a creation of mainland Greece, which had entirely ceased to depend on Minoan design for inspiration, but out of its conventionalized remains was now forming a new style. In this we may discern at work the spirit of formal order which seems characteristic of Helladic art in earlier periods also. In so far as potters in Rhodes followed the same trends they did so by way of imitation, not through the working of similar causes. When they were not so borrowing, they were content to live on their artistic capital.

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[1] The first of these examples Furumark dates IIIA2, the last, IIIC1.

[2] See *MP.* index, *Rhodo-Myc. style*, but especially p. 451, with notes and references.

[3] *MP.* p. 541, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*

APPENDIX A

MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN OTHER ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH-EAST AEGEAN AND IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR

Rhodes was not the only place in the eastern Aegean to receive Mycenaean settlers or imports; but outside Rhodes the evidence is less complete, largely through lack of excavation, especially in Asia Minor; and an adequate study is further hampered by the fact that some of the most important and illuminating finds still lie unpublished. Consequently I cannot here do more than give a summary of the published notices of finds supplemented by some slight account of what I have seen of the material.

ISLANDS

Karpathos. So far as I know, no regular excavations have been carried out here; but there are in the British Museum a few pots from the island (*BM. Cat.* A 971–7; *CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 10. 8–14). They are apparently of Myc. IIIB date.

Kos. Next to Rhodes, this is the largest of the islands of the Dodecanese. About twenty Mycenaean chamber-tombs were opened some years before the war at Eleona on the south coast. The pottery from these, which I saw in the museum at Kos in 1939, covers all three phases of the Myc. III period. As in Rhodes, the earliest pots (notably alabastra and one or two piriform jars) date from Myc. II/IIIA 1; but so far as I could observe there was no Minoan ware. The pots of IIIB and IIIC style (the latter is very well represented) are in general comparable to those from Rhodes.

Mycenaean tombs have also been excavated at Langada, some kilometres south of the town of Kos.[1] It is reported that the cemetery dates from the fourteenth to the twelfth century B.C., but no account of the pottery is yet published, though it is said to include 'fine works of the Rhodio-Mycenaean style'.

In the centre of the town of Kos, trial excavations were made in 1940–3 revealing evidence of a Mycenaean settlement lasting at least 'from the fourteenth to the end of the twelfth century'. The lower strata have not been explored, so that it is uncertain whether the settlement goes back to a yet earlier date. It is unfortunate that nearly all the pottery from this important site was lost as a result of the German occupation; but part of the site is still unexcavated.[1]

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[1] *JHS.* LXV, p. 102.

Two Mycenaean pots from Kos, probably of IIIB date, are in the British Museum: a pyxis (*BM. Cat.* A 979) and a kylix (A 978).

Kalymnos. In the British Museum there is also a group of Mycenaean pots from Kalymnos (*BM. Cat.* A 1001–24; *CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 22–8, pl. 9). All belong to the IIIB or IIIC phase.

Samos. In the German excavations at the Samian Heraion there occurred in an otherwise purely geometric context one Mycenaean kylix base.[2] This appears to be the only recorded Mycenaean find.

Lesbos. Furtwängler and Löschcke record several small Mycenaean sherds brought from Mitylene by C. T. Newton; also a small stirrup-jar, decorated with stripes only, from Antissa (modern Sigri).[3] Dr W. Lamb gives more specific information about Mycenaean sherds from her excavations at Thermi.[4] These included part of the shoulder of a big piriform jar with a ribbed vertical handle and a net pattern (probably Myc. IIIA); a rim-fragment from an open krater with hooked spirals (again Myc. IIIA?); a striped kylix-base; and other sherds apparently from kraters and from a piriform jar. The excavator notes that there was nothing of the later phases of Myc. III. The material is so scarce that it seems best explained as casual imports. That Mycenaean pottery was familiar at an earlier date than that of these sherds is apparent from the imitations, in local ware, of Myc. II cups.[5]

Asia Minor

Troy. The American excavations at Troy have not yet been fully published; but it is clear from the preliminary reports[6] that Mycenaean pottery was known there throughout the period, being imported already in L.H. I and II,[7] and throughout L.H. III.[8] Mycenaean pottery shapes were also freely imitated in the local grey 'Minyan' ware.[9] Without further details, it might be rash to attempt to decide the provenance of the Mycenaean imports; but at least there seems nothing against a mainland Greek origin.

Pitane. A stirrup-jar of IIIC date is recorded to have come from this site.[10] It is closely similar in decoration to *BM. Cat.* A 1015, from Kalymnos.

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[1] *JHS.* LXV, p. 102.

[2] *AM.* LVIII, p. 142.

[3] *FLMV.* pp. 33, 83.

[4] *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos*, p. 142 and fig. 42.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 141, and pl. XVIII, nos. 644, 645, 647 and 650.

[6] *AJA.* XXXVI ff.

[7] E.g. *AJA.* XXXIX, p. 564, fig. 11; XLI, p. 35, fig. 15.

[8] E.g. *AJA.* XLIII, p. 206, fig. 3.

[9] E.g. *AJA.* XXXIX, p. 28, fig. 20 (stirrup-jar), fig. 21 (piriform jar), etc.

[10] Perrot and Chipiez, VI, pp. 929, 931, figs. 489, 491.

Phokaia. Mycenaean sherds have been found at this site,[1] but no details are recorded.

Kolophon. A tholos tomb, robbed, but with some fragments of Mycenaean pottery, was excavated here in 1922, but has not been published in detail.[2]

Miletus. It has long been known that walls and pottery of Mycenaean date were discovered under the foundations of the older temple of Athena at Miletus.[3] The excavations of 1938[4] revealed definite evidence of a fortified Mycenaean settlement at this point, with pottery covering the whole Mycenaean period—evidence comparable to that from Rhodes and from Kos. The excavators were convinced that this was an actual Mycenaean settlement, not merely an Asiatic city importing Mycenaean wares. The published sherds include three fragments of the Myc. I 'marine' style; two Myc. II sherds with spiral patterns; two IIIB kylix fragments; and a small piece with a painted head suggestive of the figured style familiar in Cyprus. It is not certain whether any of the pottery is Minoan, but the excavators clearly do not preclude the possibility, which would fit in with the tradition[5] that Miletus was first founded by settlers from Crete.

A cemetery of Mycenaean chamber-tombs on the east slope of Deïrmentepe, a little to the west of this settlement, was discovered long ago,[6] but the contents of the tombs, though exhibited in the Berlin Museum, where I saw them in 1937, have remained unpublished. The pottery was all of IIIB or IIIC style. I am inclined to think that some of it, particularly of the later phase, is of local manufacture, both in view of certain peculiarities of clay and paint, and also of the style of the decoration. (The drawing on some of the pots is in general style of execution comparable to that on two bowls from Kalymnos in the British Museum, *BM. Cat.* A 1016, 1017.)

Mylasa. A piriform jar from this site, in the Evangelical School at Smyrna, was recorded in *AM.* XII (1887), p. 230. The rather inadequate drawing there suggests that it might be Myc. IIIA or IIIB. More Mycenaean pottery is said to have been found in the Swedish excavations now in progress.

Assarlik (*Myndos*). The pots from this site in the British Museum (A 1101–8), sometimes quoted as Mycenaean, are of sub-Mycenaean style.

Telmessos. A small stirrup-jar from this site is in the British Museum (A 1030). It is decorated with the usual stripes and lines, the handle area being left blank, a fashion common among IIIB examples in Cyprus.

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[1] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1921), p. 122.

[2] *AJA.* XXVII, pp. 67–8; *Hesperia,* XIII, pp. 91, 94.

[3] A. von Gerkan, *Milet,* I. 8, pp. 73, 113.

[4] *VI Int. Kongr. für Archäol.* (1939), pp. 323, 325 ff., with pl. 24.

[5] Cf. Strabo, 634.

[6] Noted by D. Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur,* p. 16; cf. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer,* p. 100.

Long Mycenaean intercourse with Troy is no more than was readily to be inferred from the traditions of the Trojan wars; but the archaeological finds enable us to date the period of that intercourse, and so to interpret the traditions more precisely, and to relate them to other historical data resting on rather different kinds of evidence. At Troy there is no question of actual Mycenaean settlement or colonization, nor is there in Lesbos and Samos, but the material from Kos and Miletus—which is clearly of the highest importance, and demands full publication at an early date—definitely implies important overseas Mycenaean centres. The other finds on the western coasts of Asia Minor, with the probable exception of Kolophon, may indicate nothing more than irregular commerce, though further exploration may conceivably reveal other important Mycenaean outposts. Kos and Miletus, however, together with Rhodes, constitute a significant Mycenaean bridgehead on the farther side of the Aegean. I shall return in my final chapter to a consideration of the bearing of this on Mycenaean history.

All the Anatolian sites mentioned are on or near the coast, and there seems no real ground for supposing that Mycenaean influence penetrated far up country. It is true that Mycenaean sherds from Ak Alan (18 km. from the sea, west-south-west of Samsun) are recorded by Fimmen[1] as having been noted by Curtius in the Constantinople Museum; but none of the material illustrated by the excavator[2] of that site looks like Mycenaean, and it would be well not to accept these alleged sherds as evidence of the extent of Mycenaean commerce unless further information is forthcoming to confirm their description. Still more would it be rash to draw any conclusions from the one Mycenaean sherd obtained by Crowfoot at Utch Euyuk in the desert 50 km. south-east of Konia, on the road from Iconium to Tyana.[3]

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[1] *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 96.

[2] T. Maeridy-Bey, in *Mitt. der Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft*, XII (1907), pp. 167–75.

[3] *JHS.* (1904), p. 128.

CHAPTER III

MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CYPRUS

THE Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus has in the past been a subject of much dispute: some archaeologists have supposed that it was all imported from Greece; others that it was all made in Cyprus, with the inference, usually, that there were colonies of Mycenaean Greeks in the island. Of these two views the chief advocates were formerly E. Gjerstad in *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus*, and J. L. Myres in his *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection*. The intermediate view, that some is imported, some locally made, and that a Mycenaean trade with Cyprus may have resulted in the subsequent establishment of *emporia* or colonies, with Mycenaean potters working in and for them, is comparatively recent in origin. The extreme views were largely due to inability to distinguish adequately, within the mass of 'Mycenaean' pottery, separate chronological phases and local variations of style; and a critical approach was hampered by the fact that so much of the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus now in museum collections was acquired by tomb-robbing or unscientific excavation. In this kind of looting the more sober-looking Cypriot pots would frequently be neglected in favour of the gayer Mycenaean, thus giving the world a disproportionate picture of the frequency of Mycenaean in Cyprus. Frequent it is; and the museums of Europe contain, perhaps, more such pottery from Cyprus than from Greece itself; but more recent excavations, notably by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, have shown that even at the most Mycenaeanized sites, such as Enkomi, it was far less common than the native Cypriot wares.

In the present section I shall not attempt, as in discussing the Mycenaean pottery from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to list or classify all the known finds. So many of them have come to light in unscientific ways that such a course would hardly be possible; but the bulk of finds from this area is so large that it is possible by a general survey to indicate what features are characteristic of the successive phases of Mycenaean pottery found in the island, and from these certain deductions may be possible as to its origins and sources of inspiration.[1]

It is now generally accepted that there is in fact much among the Mycenaean pottery of Cyprus which is peculiar, and may be described as 'Levanto-Helladic'—a term coined by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, and adopted, in the form 'Levanto-Mycenaean', by Furumark. The characteristics of this ware are noted in the latter's *Mycenaean Pottery*; but since that work is not designed as a regional survey the information is not concentrated in any one section of the book. A more convenient summary, though less complete, is given by E. Sjöqvist,[1] who closely follows Furumark's classification. With these two scholars I am in general agreement[2] and it will at once appear that much of what follows has already been stated convincingly enough by one or both of them; but without a more compact statement than is available in Furumark's two invaluable books, and rather more detail than Sjöqvist's summary required, it would be difficult to get a picture of the Mycenaean pottery of Cyprus sufficiently well defined to serve for purposes of comparison with the Mycenaean finds of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. In particular, Sjöqvist seems to pay too little attention to the distinction of successive phases in the pottery, thus suggesting a greater unity of style than can really be discerned.

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[1] In what follows, reference is generally made to the British Museum collection for typical examples or illustrations, since they are well published and easily accessible.

1. MYCENAEAN II AND III A1

No pottery has so far been found in Cyprus which could be definitely described as Myc. I or II: there are, however, a limited number of examples of transitional Myc. II and III types belonging to the phase which Furumark designates III A 1. (A number of these were formerly classified by Gjerstad as

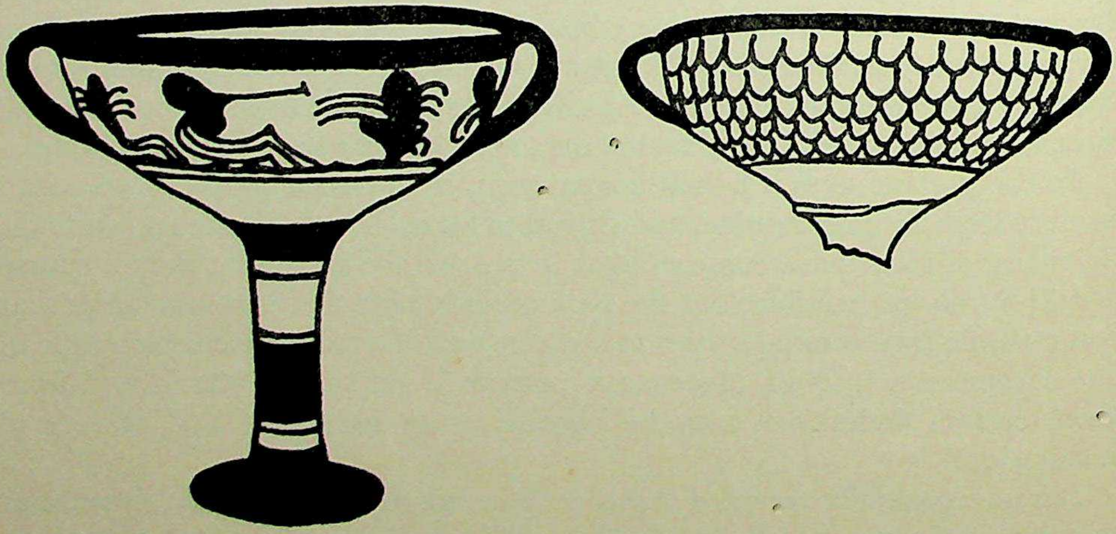

FIG. 2. Kylikes from Milia, Cyprus.

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[1] *Problems*, pp. 65 ff., 92 ff.

[2] It is gratifying to find that many of the features recorded by them as peculiar to 'Levanto-Helladic' are ones that I had myself observed independently.

L.H. II.)[1] The following list is not exhaustive, but includes the most important find-groups.[2] They are arranged by sites.

Milia (18 km. north-west of Famagusta). In Tomb 10 of the Swedish excavations[3] were two kylikes (Fig. 2) of Furumark's type 260. One (no. 22 in the published account), decorated with an ivy-leaf pattern, is classed by Furumark as IIB/IIIA 1; the other (no. 23), which has an unusual ridge at the base of the bowl and is painted with a net pattern, as IIIA 1. This net pattern is, like the ivy-leaf, most unusual on a kylix, but finds a parallel in one from Tomb 66 at Enkomi (Pl. XIII, 1). This, however, like the other pots from the tomb, appears to be of later date than IIIA 1 (perhaps as late as IIIB)[4] and the net is much closer.

Enkomi. From Tomb 69 of the British Museum excavations are the following:[5]

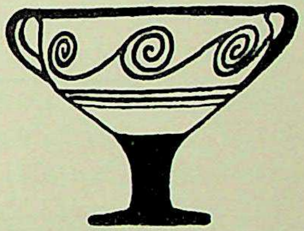

FIG. 3. Kylix from Enkomi.

(*a*) Kylix (type F255) with broad deep bowl decorated with a running spiral (Fig. 3). *BM. Cat.* C 616, fig. 219; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12. 8.

(*b*) Alabastron (F84) with wave pattern round the base. *BM. Cat.* C 494, fig. 173; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12. 20.

(*c*) Broad-necked jug (F112). *BM. Cat.* C 599, fig. 206; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 6. 2. This is an unusual shape, not easily falling into any typological series, but probably of the same date as the foregoing.

(*d*) Furumark suggests[6] that a krater from the same tomb (*BM. Cat.* C 415, fig. 146; *Excav. in Cyprus*, fig. 68. 1103) may also belong to the IIIA 1 phase. I should not have thought it so early, and the description of the fabric in the British Museum catalogue suggests a later period.[7]

From Tomb 50 of the same excavation:

(*a*) Globular jar of a type (F77) peculiar to this and the preceding phase. *BM. Cat.* C 499 and A 755; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12. 25. A pot of similar shape with stippled decoration comes from Maroni, *BM. Cat.* A 635, pl. VIII.

(*b*) Piriform jar of an early type (F31 (*b*), see Fig. 4 (*c*)), net pattern on the shoulder. *BM. Cat.* C 476; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 1.

From another tomb (number not recorded) comes another similar pot (Pl. VI, 2).

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[1] *SPC.* pp. 210, 212.

[2] Cf. *CMP.* pp. 55 f.

[3] *QDAP.* VIII, pp. 1–9, pls. I–V.

[4] See below, p. 40.

[5] *Excav. in Cyprus*, fig. 68.

[6] *CMP.* p. 55.

[7] The vase is unfortunately not at present available for study.

From Tomb 3 of the Swedish excavations the following are classified by Furumark as IIIA1:[1]

(*a*) Piriform jar (F31 (*b*)), no. 267 of the published report. Early type, with vertical handles.

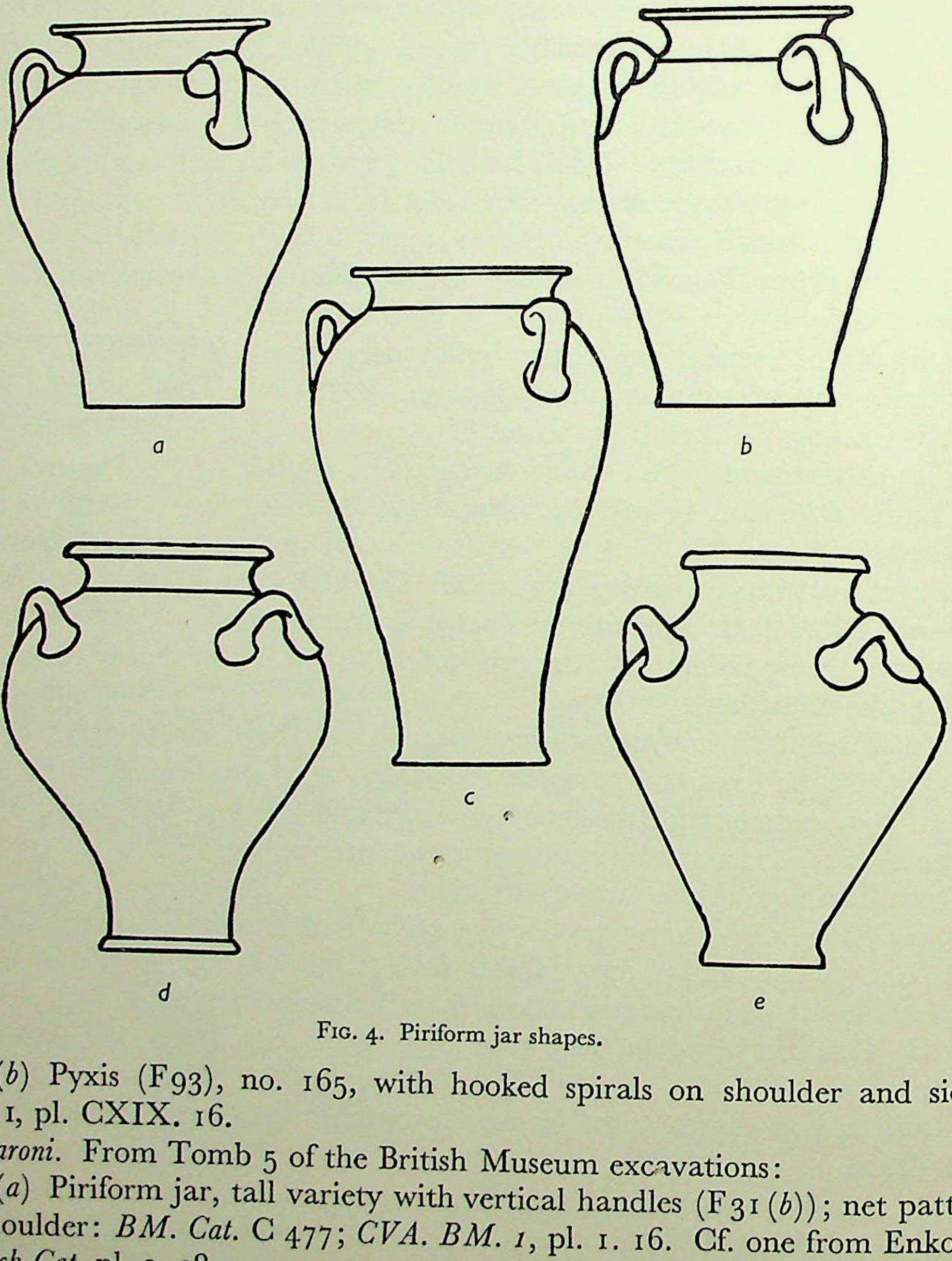

Fig. 4. Piriform jar shapes.

(*b*) Pyxis (F93), no. 165, with hooked spirals on shoulder and sides. *SCE*. 1, pl. CXIX. 16.

Maroni. From Tomb 5 of the British Museum excavations:

(*a*) Piriform jar, tall variety with vertical handles (F31 (*b*)); net pattern on shoulder: *BM. Cat.* C 477; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 16. Cf. one from Enkomi, *Munich Cat.* pl. 3. 28.

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[1] *SCE. I*, pp. 475 ff.; *CMP*. p. 55.

(*b*) (From this or another tomb?) Another, with hooked spirals on the shoulder (Pl. VI, 1).

(*c*) Kylix (F255) with lily motif round the bowl: *BM. Cat.* C 617, pl. III; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12. 12 (Fig. 5).

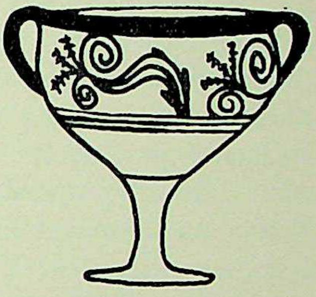

FIG. 5. Kylix from Maroni.

(*d*) Large jug with cut-away neck (F132), decorated with wavy vertical stripes (Pl. VI, 6). There is a similar jug from Klavdia, perhaps a little later in date (*BM. Cat.* C 580; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 6. 12).

The following unpublished pots in the Cyprus Museum are stated to come from Tomb 23 of the same excavations:[1]

(*a*) Alabastron (F84), with wheel pattern on base (Pl. VI, 4): Cyprus Mus. Inv. no. 1707. There are three more similar pots in the same museum (nos. 1708–10), of unknown provenance.

(*b*) Piriform jar (F28) decorated with alternate leaf-sprays and triple wavy stripes springing from the base (Pl. VI, 5): Cyprus Mus. Inv. no. 1651*a*.

(*c*) Piriform jar with vertical handles and rather unusually deep neck, with a repeated trefoil motif on the shoulder (Pl. VI, 3): Cyprus Mus. Inv. no. 1654. The shape of the neck, and the unusual decoration, suggest that this may be a provincial work, though there is no abnormality of technique. On the base is a 'potter's mark' (see Appendix B, p. 48).

Hala Sultan Tekké. From the British Museum excavations of 1898 comes a large beaked jug (F144) with a lily motif comparable to that on the kylix (*c*) from Maroni Tomb 5 (Pl. VI, 7).

Besides the types already mentioned, it seems likely that a few of the shallow saucer-like cups (Furumark's types 237, 219 and 220), which occur frequently in Cyprus, belong to the transitional Myc. II/III phase. One of type 237 from Enkomi Tomb 40 (*BM. Cat.* C 678; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 29) has a radial pattern of flowers inside that recalls a Myc. II cup found at Saqqara in Egypt (see p. 56). Again, the running spiral motif on some of type 218/219 is little removed from Myc. II examples except in the disuse of added white paint.[2] The majority of the cups of this shape, however, do not appear either stylistically or from associated finds to be earlier than the full IIIA period.

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[1] Cf. *CMP.* p. 56. Furumark records *two* alabastra (type 84) and *two* piriform jars of type 31 from this tomb; but I have myself seen only those here described, and the Museum authorities assert there are no others. From the same tomb comes also a ring-kernos (F197; illustrated *SPC.* p. 212) which Furumark dates IIIA 1.

[2] E.g. *CVA. BM. 1*, pls. 4. 31, 37; 5. 1, 4; there are also a number in the Cyprus Museum. For Myc. I–II version of the pattern see *Ch. Tombs*, pl. I. 1. Cf. *MP.* p. 353, fig. 59.

The pots listed above are representative of the earliest Mycenaean ware to be found in Cyprus. They indicate clearly that Mycenaean trade and influence in the island did not begin until the very end of the Myc. II period, little, if at all, before the fall of Crete.[1]

The pottery is too scarce to allow us to assume a local manufacture, nor are there peculiarities of style to warrant such a view, most of the pots finding parallels in mainland Greece or Rhodes. The most unusual pieces are the kylikes, from Enkomi, Maroni and Milia. The kylix from Enkomi Tomb 69 with a running spiral round the bowl (Fig. 3) is fairly close to one from Prosymna (*Prosymna*, fig. 281. 528); and the spiral motif is also used on several Rhodian examples (*CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 51. 9–11). I cannot, however, find any real parallel for the kylix from Maroni Tomb 5, with a lily motif (Fig. 5). The motif itself is not, of course, unusual; but it is not normally applied to a kylix of this type. The two kylikes from Milia (Fig. 2) also present a certain oddity of decoration: I can trace no other examples of the ivy-leaf on a pot of this shape,[2] though the ivy-leaf, in a closely similar form, is common enough on Myc. II alabastra. Mycenaean kylix forms are of almost entirely Helladic origin; their Minyan prototypes were of course unpainted, and the Myc. III examples from the Argolid are usually fairly restrained in their decoration. In Rhodes, however, there is rather more variety in the designs which may surround a kylix bowl: various flower-motifs (on one they are upside down),[3] linked spirals such as in Greece itself are usually confined to shallow one-handled cups,[4] derivatives of the 'ogival canopy' pattern,[5] and even birds[6] are found. It is possible, therefore, that these rather unusual kylikes from Cyprus were made in Rhodes. In the later Myc. III period the kylix is scarcely found at all in Cyprus.

The alabastra are not unusual; this is another shape of Helladic origin, frequent at Mycenae and Prosymna, and found also in Rhodes. For the pyxis from Enkomi Tomb 3, which has hooked spirals on the sides and shoulder, the closest parallels I know are three from Ialysos (two in Pl. I, 2, 5)[7] and one from Prosymna.[8] The globular jar (F 77) is not a common shape, but when it occurs is usually stipple-painted like the one from Maroni. Forsdyke[9] classified the latter as Minoan, but both shape and fabric can be just as closely paralleled from Mycenae.[10]

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[1] Cf. *CMP.* p. 99 *in re* Myc. III A 1.

[2] The nearest is the one-handled kylix of a different type from Lachish. See p. 56.

[3] E.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 51. 7, 8; *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 132, fig. 53.

[4] E.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 51. 9–11.

[5] E.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 52. 1–5.

[6] E.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 53. 8; *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 110, fig. 30.

[7] Cf. *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 189, fig. 112.

[8] *Prosymna*, fig. 109. 202.

[9] *BM. Cat.* on A 635 and A 755; cf. *JHS.* XXXI, pp. 112 f.

[10] E.g. *Ch. Tombs*, pls. XXXIII, no. 9 and XXXIV, no. 18, both from Tomb 517.

The piriform jar of the early type, with vertical handles, like those listed above, and a net pattern on the shoulder, is about equally common in Greece itself and in Rhodes; the decoration of hooked spirals, however, seems more peculiar to Rhodes (e.g. Pl. I, 3, 9).[1]

The tall jug from Maroni Tomb 5 (Pl. VI, 6) is a commoner type than the broader, beaked type represented at Hala Sultan Tekké. Three examples at least are known from Mycenae,[2] and four from Prosymna;[3] it occurs also in Rhodes (e.g. Pl. I, 7).[4] As regards the broad type, I do not know another example with a lily pattern like the one from Hala Sultan Tekké; but the pattern itself finds close parallels, e.g. on a large piriform jar from Ialysos (Pl. I, 10).

From this survey it is not possible to make any reliable deductions about the origin of the early Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus. The majority of the known IIIA 1 types are represented,[5] but none of them is peculiar either to the Argolid or to Rhodes, which were probably the two chief centres of Mycenaean pottery at this period. There is, however, no reason to suppose that trade between one of these centres and Cyprus would exclude the other; in fact the affinities of the pottery from those two regions imply close commercial relations between them; perhaps they were in alliance, or even under a single ruler. Rhodes on the other hand lies farther east, and it would be only natural if her ships were the first to sail from the Aegean to Cyprus and Syria. In any case we can hardly doubt that Rhodes, in view of her geographical situation, must have been involved in any eastward trade from Greece, and we shall see that some of the pottery finds in Syria do afford almost certain evidence of her participation.

2. MYCENAEAN IIIA2

Of the Mycenaean pottery of the IIIA2 phase Furumark has well said[6] that one of its dominant characteristics is 'its stylistic homogeneity. There are no general stylistic criteria by which regional variants of decoration may be distinguished.' He remarks, however, that in the Levant certain shapes and decorative features occur with greater or less frequency than in other areas. We have already seen how far this is true for Rhodes: it remains to consider briefly the position in Cyprus. Mycenaean pottery becomes widely diffused in the island in this period (see Map II), indicating more active commerce, and probably the establishment of colonies of Mycenaean traders and others on or near the coasts. Unfortunately there is up to the present little evidence from the exploration of settlement sites to elucidate the history of Mycenaean penetration in Cyprus, and most of our inferences must be drawn from the pottery found in tombs, few of them scientifically excavated. The settlement to which the celebrated necropolis of Enkomi belongs was not even recognized as such until Schaeffer's trial excavation of 1934, and it was only in 1946 that more extended investigation became possible. The site is obviously of the highest importance for the history of Mycenaean culture in Cyprus; but we shall have to await fuller publication[1] before the evidence can be properly related to the previously known ceramic material. The only other settlement[2] so far explored is Kourion, where the late J. F. Daniel conducted several seasons' work for the Philadelphia University Museum; but here again the results are not yet fully available.[3]

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[1] Cf. *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 189, fig. 112.

[2] *Ch. Tombs*, pls. XX. 2; XLV. 1; LVI. 19.

[3] *Prosymna*, figs. 150, 372, 472.

[4] Cf. *Ann.* VI–VII, p. 96, fig. 11.

[5] Sjöqvist's assertion to the contrary (*Problems*, p. 68) is much too sweeping.

[6] *MP.* p. 521.

On the other hand, the material from tombs is so considerable in bulk that we can feel reasonably certain that it is representative of the whole range of Mycenaean pottery used in Cyprus. If there are exceptions to this general assumption it will probably be because some types of vessel were used only for domestic purposes (and do not appear in tombs) or were used exclusively as grave furniture (and so appear disproportionately frequent). These possibilities should be borne in mind in our consideration of the pot-types which are prevalent or absent in the Cypriot repertory.

Bowls, whether of hemispherical or ogival form, are almost entirely missing. This may be because there were plenty of bowls of local Cypriot fabrics to meet the needs of Mycenaean inhabitants. There is perhaps a symptom of Mycenaean approval of the local product in an angular bowl with a wishbone-handle from Maroni (Pl. VI, 8) which though Mycenaean in technique and decoration is of a shape usual in Cypriot Base-ring II ware.[4] It is difficult to believe that this pot was made anywhere but in Cyprus, and by a Mycenaean potter.

Of kraters we find both the conical or slightly piriform neckless type (F8) and the first examples of the necked type (F54), which is so characteristic of Cyprus Mycenaean. The former type, which though nowhere common occurs also in Rhodes and mainland Greece,[5] bears various kinds of decoration (usually abstract), mainly confined to the upper part of the bowl. A specimen from Enkomi (Pl. VI, 9) has zones of zigzag ornament; one from Arpera (in the Cyprus Museum), a debased form of 'ogival canopy' pattern;[1] another (also in the Cyprus Museum), a zone of hooked spirals. Pictorial decoration is rare, but there are figure scenes on an example from Arpera now in the Louvre.[2]

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[1] An outline account appeared in *AJA.* LII, pp. 165 ff.

[2] On the settlement at Sinda see p. 109, n. 3.

[3] Brief preliminary reports in *Bull. Univ. Mus., Philadelphia*, V, no. 4; VII, nos. 1–3.

[4] *BM. Cat.* C 624; *MP.* p. 626, type 243. See *Problems*, p. 68, no. 8 and fig. 8. 1 *b* for the Base-ring type.

[5] Cf. *MP.* p. 586, types 7, 8.

The necked kraters of this phase may be distinguished from the later ones (F55) by their neater proportions, shorter neck, and carefully made ridged handles of distinctly metallic form.[3] Only a few kraters of the same shape have been found in Rhodes,[4] and in mainland Greece they are equally rare, the only complete specimen so far published being one from Corinth.[5] This krater shows certain peculiarities both in shape and in painting: its neck is very deep in proportion to its width (3:5 against an average of about 1:4), and the chariot groups appear to be drawn by a painter unused to such subjects. Perhaps it should therefore be regarded as an imitation of the Cypriot type. A number of sherds from pots of the same kind are recorded from the Argolid, and Furumark mentions other (unpublished) examples found at Berbati. But even if, as has been suggested, such vases were manufactured at the Berbati potteries,[6] it is clear that this is primarily a Levantine (i.e. Cypriot) type. The evidence of scores of complete examples from Cyprus against one and a few handfuls of sherds from Greece cannot be interpreted otherwise. The decoration leads to the same conclusion: a few patterns, such as the linear floral design on one from Enkomi (Pl. VI, 10) might be the product of almost any Mycenaean centre; but the great majority are decorated in a figured style which is peculiar to Cyprus. The broad zone round the upper part of the pot normally bears a frieze of animals or birds (e.g. Pl. VII, 1, from Maroni; Pl. VII, 2, from Enkomi), or, most typically of all, a chariot scene (e.g. Pl. VII, 4, 5, from Enkomi). Occasionally the decoration spreads freely over the whole field, as on two other Enkomi examples (Pl. VII, 3 and *SCE. I*, pl. CXX. 3 and 4).[7] This 'Levanto-Mycenaean pictorial style' has been carefully analysed by Furumark,[8] who shows that while the main subjects are largely derived from fresco-paintings, the numerous background filling ornaments are almost all to be found on contemporary Mycenaean pots of non-pictorial style, and are not peculiar to the Levant. It seems worth while here to remark on the artistic merits of this pictorial style, which are frequently ignored, sometimes even denied. It is the most lively and imaginative product of Mycenaean pot-painting, and at its best includes animal drawings of charm and skill such as the leaping wild goats on a krater from Maroni (Fig. 6)[1] and the highly decorative bulls and birds on one from Enkomi illustrated by Sjöqvist (*Problems*, fig. 21. 1).

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[1] *SPC.* p. 213; pattern closely paralleled on a krater of the same type from Rhodes, Berlin Altes Museum, Inv. no. 4947.

[2] *BCH.* XXXI, p. 229, figs. 10–12.

[3] On the metallic origin of this shape cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 65.

[4] Cf. p. 12.

[5] See S. Weinberg in *Hesperia*, XVIII, pp. 156 f. and pls. 23 and 24.

[6] Cf. J. F. Daniel in *AJA.* XLVII, p. 254, reviewing Furumark's *MP.*

[7] Cf. *MP.* p. 521.

[8] *MP.* pp. 431 ff., 521 f.; cf. Sjöqvist, *Problems*, pp. 71 f. with figs. 19–21 (fig. 21. 2–4 are of the IIIB phase).

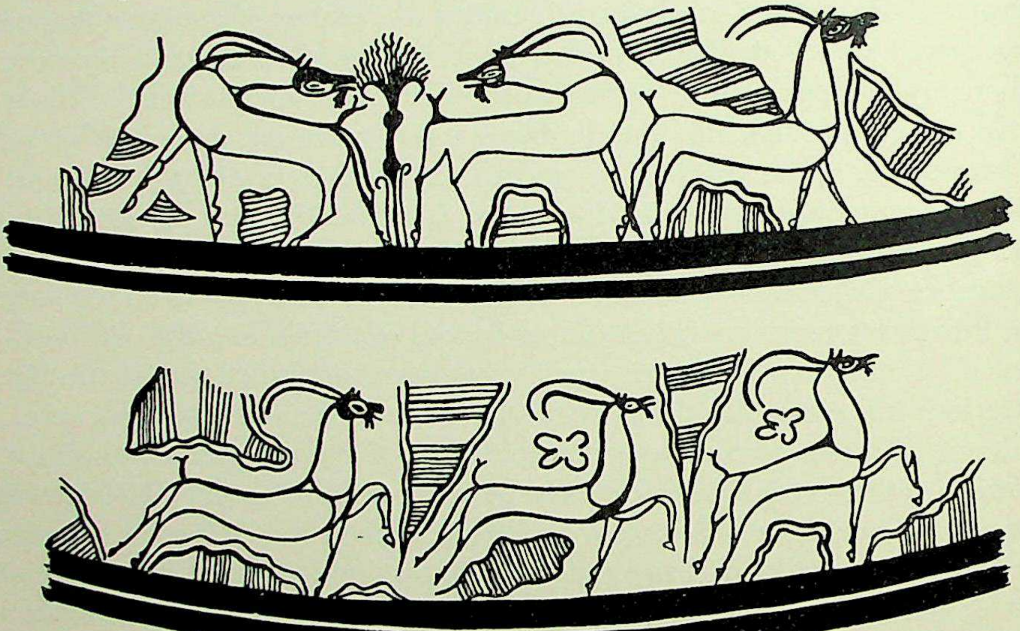

Fig. 6. Decoration of a krater from Maroni, Cyprus.

Cup types of the IIIA phase are not common in Cyprus, with the exception of the shallow, saucer-like varieties (F219 and 220) already mentioned in the preceding section. The running spiral motif on the earlier examples is simplified and more carelessly drawn, or often replaced by simpler repeated motifs round the bowl; while the shape loses the fine 'metallic' finish about the lip, and assumes a rather straighter profile. (A fair idea of the variations is given by the series in the British Museum, *BM. Cat.* C 628–57, figs. 225–36; cf. Pl. XII, 5, 13, 14.) Of other cup shapes, the concave-sided mug (F225) is represented by a very few specimens (e.g. *BM. Cat.* C 618, fig. 220, from Enkomi; C 619, pl. III, from Hala Sultan Tekké); so also is the bell-shaped cup F230 (e.g. *BM. Cat.* C 626, 627, figs. 222, 223, from Enkomi).

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[1] E. J. Forsdyke in *Essays in Aegean Arch. pres. to Sir A. J. Evans*, p. 29, refers to the 'inadequate draughtsmanship'!

Kylikes, as already stated, are extremely rare in Cyprus, and I know none that can definitely be dated to this phase.

The straight-sided pyxis (F 93) is fairly common, and presents nothing peculiar in form or decoration, with the exception of a few unusual shoulder patterns (e.g. a row of small circles with spots in the centre, Cyprus Museum nos. 1720 and 1721; but these exceptions are too few to imply a regional school). Roughly speaking, this pot-type in the III A period gradually replaces the alabastron (F 83 and 84).

Small three-handled piriform jars (F 45–7) are frequent. Furumark has shown that we may distinguish among them a Levantine variant (his types 46 and 47; Fig. 4*e*) with a more angular profile and rather higher neck than the normal Myc. III A type (Fig. 4*d*); and that these are characterized by specific developments of the 'curve-stemmed spiral' motif on the shoulder.[1] (Examples are illustrated in Pl. VIII, 1–5.) There is not a hard and fast division in shape between these and the more normally decorated specimens (e.g. Pl. VIII, 6–11); but the existence of intermediate shapes confirms rather than disproves the local origin of the variation. As far as I know it is confined to Cyprus; and we may with probability call it not merely Levantine but Cypriot.

Jug-types are very sparsely represented. Perhaps, as with the bowls considered above, this is due to the profusion of pots of similar function which were available in local wares. The tombs excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition often contained large numbers of jugs of Cypriot wares, and practically none of Mycenaean fabric.[2]

One jug from Klavdia, of a tall piriform shape, decorated with wavy vertical stripes, has already been mentioned (see p. 29) for comparison with the III A 1 specimen from Maroni. Although both this type and the broad-bellied beaked jug (F 144) are rare, versions of them do sometimes occur.[3] Another III A piriform shape, with three handles (F 154) is represented by two examples from Enkomi,[4] painted in the usual manner with horizontal stripes and lines. One of them (Pl. VIII, 12) is remarkable for the very wide stripe round the broadest part, with a pattern superimposed in white.

Stirrup-jars of the globular type (F 171) are fairly frequent. As I have shown elsewhere, it is not always easy to assign pots of this type to a definitely III A or III B date, though the pattern on the shoulder and the presence or absence of a zonal pattern are fair guides.[1] The normal flower-pattern on the shoulder occurs in Cyprus as in other regions, with the usual variations and corruptions; and I do not think that there is anything that we can call peculiarly Cypriot before the IIIB phase. The piriform type (F165 and 166) seems commoner than in Greece proper, but less frequent than in Rhodes. This is a general impression from what I have seen, published and unpublished: statistics are not available.

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[1] *MP.* p. 362, fig. 62, motif 49. 22–8; and p. 521; cf. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.* XXXI (1899), pp. 365 ff., fig. xxviii.

[2] See, for example, *SCE. I*, pls. LXXVII (Enkomi Tomb 3), LXXXII–LXXXIII (Enkomi Tomb 11).

[3] Several unpublished examples in the Cyprus Museum, 4–9 cm. in height.

[4] *BM. Cat.* C 609; *SCE.* pl. CXIX, E. 3. 22.

With the globular pilgrim flask (F188) it is again not always easy to divide IIIA from IIIB specimens; but those with a rather deep base-ring (e.g. *BM. Cat.* C 562–4) can pretty safely be ascribed to IIIA. The decoration of these tends to be more careful, as in the 'palmette' motif below the handles of one in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* C 562, fig. 192). The particularly large example from Maroni (*BM. Cat.* C 563, fig. 193) is unusual in being decorated with a large foliate wheel-pattern on either side, instead of the concentric circles usual on smaller specimens. The pilgrim flask has for long been regarded as typical of Cyprus Mycenaean, but is not confined to Cyprus, though almost twice as common here as elsewhere.[2]

Rather less frequent is a bottle-type (F190) with a rather depressed globular body, decorated in the same way as a globular stirrup-jar (e.g. *BM. Cat.* C 567, fig. 196; several unpublished examples in the Cyprus Museum). The type occurs also in mainland Greece[3] as well as Rhodes, and Sjöqvist thus appears to be wrong in listing it among 'Levanto-Helladic specific shapes'.[4]

Summarizing this brief survey of Myc. IIIA2 in Cyprus, we may notice particularly the absence or rarity of bowls, kylikes and jugs, and the especial frequency of pilgrim flasks, piriform jars, and necked kraters. This last shape shows a pictorial style of decoration peculiar to Cyprus; and we have noticed a regional style among the piriform jars also. It is difficult from this evidence to avoid the conclusion that so much of the pottery is of local manufacture. But it is equally noticeable that in technique none of the pots exhibit any serious difference from those of Rhodes and mainland Greece; and the great majority of them are also similar in both shape and decoration to standard Mycenaean types. Such unity of style could hardly have existed without very frequent intercourse between the various parts of the Mycenaean world, or indeed without frequent trade in the actual pottery. We are therefore probably on safe ground in assuming that much of the Myc. IIIA pottery in Cyprus was imported; but it does not follow that *every* pot which does not exhibit local variations of shape or style is not of local manufacture. The important fact which emerges is that there were at this time at least some potters in Cyprus working in the Mycenaean style and technique. Where the imported pottery was made is not clear. One gains a general impression that there is more in common with Rhodes than with the Argolid; but the great homogeneity of style in this phase makes it impossible to say with any certainty.

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[1] *BSA.* XLII, pp. 14 ff.

[2] Cf. Sjöqvist's statistics, *Problems*, pp. 69 f.

[3] E.g. *BSA.* XLII, pl. 16. 1, 2, from Attica, though these are probably somewhat later.

[4] *Problems*, fig. 18, type 11.

3. MYCENAEAN IIIB

In the Myc. IIIB period the amount of Mycenaean pottery of apparently local Cypriot manufacture is much greater: this is shown by an increased number of local peculiarities both of shape and decoration, frequently coupled with some difference in the actual quality of clay and paint.[1]

Bowls of the normal Myc. III types are very scarce, as in IIIA. The two-handled bowl (F285) which is so characteristic of L.H. IIIB and C at Mycenae itself and many other Greek sites, is represented by a few rather large and grand specimens such as that from Tomb 6 of the Swedish excavations at Enkomi (Pl. IX, 1). This particular bowl has a painted 'potter's mark' on the base (see Appendix B, p. 46). In the Cyprus Museum I found only one of the normal, smaller size (Pl. IX, 2).

The necked kraters with their chariot-scenes become rarer in this phase, and are largely replaced by a different krater type (F281: Fig. 8*f*) with wide, open mouth and two horizontal loop-handles. The Cypriot pictorial style of decoration continues on this new krater type, becoming in fact more distinctive as it casts aside some of the background filling motifs, which had been drawn from the standard Mycenaean repertory, and concentrates more on the main subject of the drawing. Chariot scenes do still occur on the new type (e.g. *BM. Cat.* C 398, fig. 136, from Klavdia: *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 7. 8); but the most typical subjects are friezes or groups of animals. Commonest perhaps is the bull, his long body filling one side of the vase: e.g. Pl. IX, 3–5. We also find sphinxes, birds, deer, goats, and fish (Pls. IX, 6–9; X, 1, 2). Besides the 'frieze' arrangement of these subjects (as in Pl. IX, 7–9 and Pl. X) a common scheme is the 'heraldic' grouping of a confronted pair of animals, generally with some object—a tree or a plant—between them (e.g. Pl. IX, 6). Similar grouping occurs also on some of the later necked kraters (e.g. Pl. XI, 1, 2): the heavy proportions of neck and handles corroborate the suggestion of the general style of decoration, that these kraters are of IIIB date. The 'heraldic' arrangement, as Furumark points out, is almost certainly due to oriental influences,[1] which are implied even more clearly in the winged sphinx and griffin figures (e.g. Pl. IX, 6) and in some of the ornamental motifs.[2]

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[1] Cf. p. 42.

Though the subjects of these pictorial designs are few, and the krater shape on which they occur fairly constant, the actual style of drawing varies in this IIIB phase, far more so than in IIIA, and ranges, as is shown by the examples illustrated, from a highly ornamental manner suggestive of embroidery (Pl. IX, 3, 7; Pl. XI, 2) to an impressionistic naturalism (e.g. Fig. 7; and Sjöqvist, *Problems*, fig. 21. 3, 4). Furumark has distinguished[3] among this class of pottery a group which he refers to as the 'Rude Style', describing it as 'a derivative Mycenaean ware, based on the Lev.-Myc. IIIB style'. He considers it 'evident that these vases cannot have been made by the same potters and painters who manufactured the genuine Lev.-Myc. ware'. This, I think, goes too far. I see no reason to separate these pots so definitely from the remainder of Cypriot L.H. IIIB, especially as there is no definite difference in technique. It seems clear to me that a more detailed study (which I hope hereafter to undertake) will reveal among the Cypriot Myc. IIIB pictorial class a whole range of stylistic groups, attributable perhaps to particular localities, in some cases even to individual painters, with which this 'Rude Style' will then take its place. For the present it is sufficient to observe that this class of kraters appears as a whole peculiar to Cyprus.

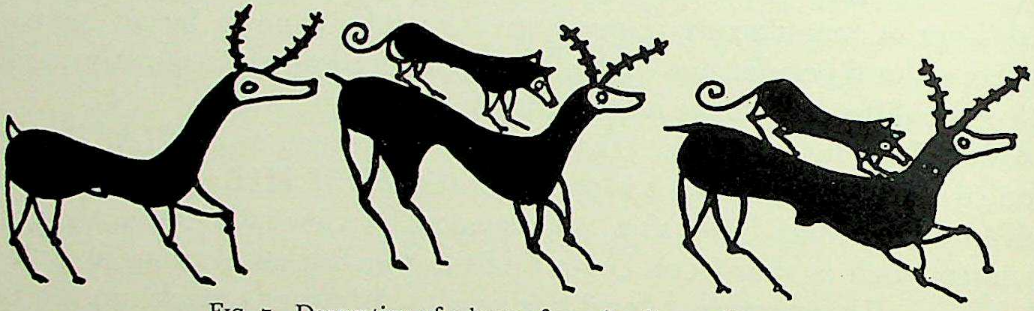

FIG. 7. Decoration of a krater from Aradippo, Cyprus.

Among cups the IIIB phase sees the evolution of a number of types which are peculiar to Cyprus. Sjöqvist[4] lists five different forms; and this number could in fact be increased by taking into account all the variations in the form of handle, base, etc. In Fig. 8 *a–c*, I have recorded only three, regarding Sjöqvist's types 4 and 5 as one species, and omitting his type 3 as being simply an unusual variant of his type 2. In shape these cups probably owe something to native Cypriot wares;[5] but their decoration is in a modified Mycenaean

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[1] *MP.* pp. 430–70 *passim.*

[2] *MP.* p. 467.

[3] *MP.* pp. 465 ff.

[4] *Problems*, p. 68 and fig. 18, types 1–5.

[5] Cf. *MP.* p. 66.

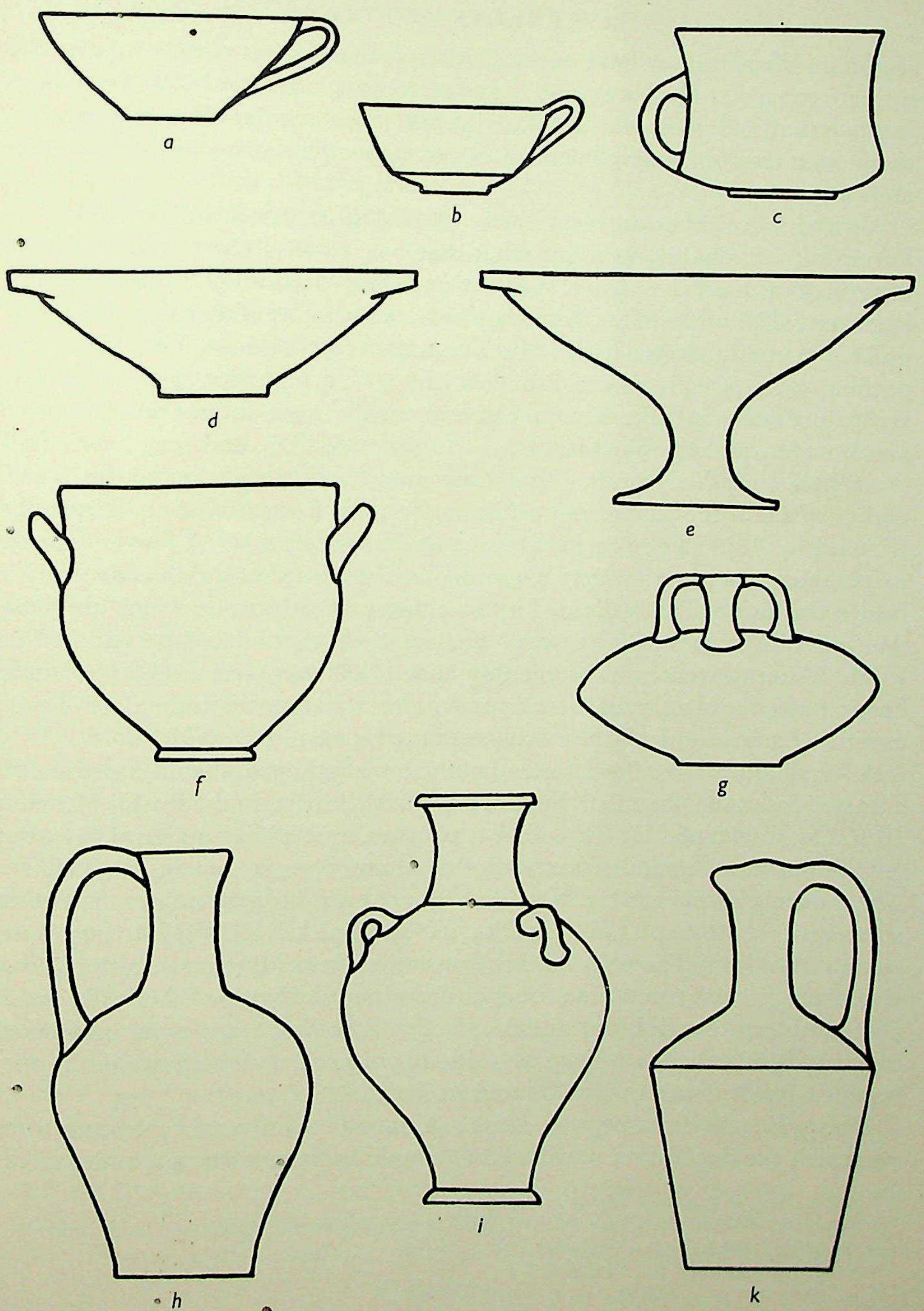
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
k

FIG. 8. Shapes peculiar to the Myc. IIIB pottery of Cyprus.

tradition. They usually have only a few stripes of red paint outside (one on the lip, one or two at the base), and a few concentric rings inside. In technique they cannot be definitely separated from more regular Mycenaean; but there is a tendency for them to be of a rougher clay, with somewhat matt paint.

Normal kylix types are very rare. Of the three shown in Pl. XIII, 1–3, Furumark is probably right in saying that nos. 1 and 2 (both from Enkomi) 'represent a local Lev.-Myc. variant'.[1] Their decoration is unparalleled elsewhere. The other (from Kourion) bears an octopus of a type not unusual in Rhodes and in Greece itself. Much commoner than the ordinary kylix, and peculiar to Cyprus, is a sort of shallow dish with a high foot (F309, Fig. 8*e*). It does not occur in other Mycenaean centres. The stem of these pots is shorter and broader, and the bowl larger, than in most kylikes, and they have small horizontal strap-like handles, but they may have served similar purposes. Dishes of the same shape, but without the high foot, also occur frequently (F296, Fig. 8*d*).[2] The two forms have similar decoration. A few horizontal stripes round the exterior serve to emphasize the form; but the chief decorative field is the inside. This is divided up by concentric red stripes, which are often relieved with circles of dots, wavy lines, and other motifs, superimposed in white. Alternatively the intervening spaces are occupied either by simple linear patterns in a radial arrangement, or by repeated animal or flower motifs. (Examples of all these schemes may be seen in Pl. XII.)

A few shallow bowls have, instead of the horizontal strap-handles at the rim, a single 'wishbone'-handle.[3] Such is one from Klavdia, in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* C 623, pl. III; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4, no. 27): it has a design of two oxen on the outside. A smaller version of the same type is seen in Pl. XII, 15. These examples have a flat base, but others have no base-ring or flattening whatever (e.g. *SCE.* pl. CXVII, E 13. 211; and pl. LXXXVIII. 1, third row, second from left). These are in fact translations into Mycenaean technique of the hemispherical 'milk-bowl' shape of the native Cypriot White Slip ware, comparable to the IIIA 'translation' of a Base-ring ware type, mentioned above (p. 32). On the Mycenaean side they are related, perhaps, to the one-handled bowls found in Rhodes and in Attica.[4]

The pyxis remains a popular shape. Alongside the normal type occur some on which the decoration is reduced to simple horizontal stripes, omitting the fine lines between them and the pattern from the shoulder: cf. Pl. XIII, 4 and 5. These are generally of a rougher technique.

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[1] *MP.* p. 629, on type 258, nos. 27 and 28.

[2] The origin of these two types is not clear. They possibly derive from the native Wheel-made ware I (e.g. Sjöqvist, *Problems*, fig. 14, types 1 and 2*a*).

[3] As Sjöqvist, *Problems*, fig. 18, type 6.

[4] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 35 and fig. 14*c*, also p. 13 above.

A new type of large piriform jar with a deep narrow neck (Fig. 8*i*) now appears. This seems peculiar to Cyprus; as far as I know it does not occur in Greece, and it is distinct in shape from the related III A type (F 35) so common in Rhodes. The neck is usually painted all over; there are broad stripes above and below the handles, round the base, and sometimes one half-way down the lower body. The handles are each enclosed in a broad ring of paint: this leaves three panels between them which usually are edged round with a net motif and have some simple linear design in the centre. The examples in Pl. XIII, 7 and 8 are typical.

The normal Mycenaean jug types are still scarce; but two specifically Cypriot varieties occur. One (Fig. 8*h*) has an ovoid or slightly piriform body, and a fairly wide neck; the other (Fig. 8*k*) has a narrower neck with trefoil lip, and a definitely angular profile. The former is decorated with a few simple stripes only; the latter has a decorated zone on the sloping shoulder. Two attractive examples in the British Museum (Pl. XIII, 9, 10, from Hala Sultan Tekké and Enkomi respectively) show a design of bulls' heads clearly related to the bull pictures on kraters. A spot below the lip vaguely suggests an eye. Two or three examples of the ovoid shape in the Cyprus Museum have a pinched lip, as in the angular variety, and a network pattern on the shoulder. Sjöqvist has drawn attention to the Syrian connexions of the angular type.[1] Neither it nor the ovoid type is found at all frequently. The globular Myc. III type with a broad neck (F 109 and 110) is rather more frequent. Normally this is painted with stripes alone, but the Cyprus examples not infrequently have a decorated shoulder: e.g. one example from Enkomi has a series of birds (Pl. XIII, 6), another has a bull (*SCE. I*, pl. CXVIII. 10), and various abstract motifs also occur (*BM. Cat.* C 582, fig. 202; C 584, fig. 204; *SCE. I*, pl. CXIX. 1).

Of stirrup-jar types the commonest is still the globular (F 173). As elsewhere, the normal decoration is of horizontal stripes with groups of fine lines between them, ornamental motifs being confined to the shoulder, and occasionally a narrow zone round the widest part of the body (e.g. Pl. XIII, 15). The standard flower pattern on the shoulder is often replaced by unimaginative linear motifs of a simple kind—a development that was already showing itself in the preceding phase. Some even have the shoulder left plain, a fashion which though known in Greece itself is far more frequent in Cyprus; and a further simplification consists in the omission of the fine lines between the stripes. These characteristics are common also to the depressed globular type

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[1] *Problems*, p. 94.

(e.g. Pl. XIII, 13, 17). The simpler style is not infrequently associated with a technical inferiority—a rougher surface to the clay, and a less glossy paint; but there is no firm division, and at times it goes with a technique indistinguishable from that of standard Mycenaean. This fact seems to imply a local development (perhaps 'decadence' would be more accurate), and does not justify a dichotomy between 'Mycenaean imports' and 'local imitations'.

The flat-topped stirrup-jar with a strongly angular profile (F 182 and 183) is sparsely represented; but there is a local variation of the depressed form which has sloping shoulders and a more or less angular profile (Fig. 8*g*; F 179). Many examples of this variety (of those in the Cyprus Museum, over half) have the shoulder plain: where there is a shoulder pattern it is seldom of the floral type; and they often have the simpler stripe-scheme and are of the rougher technique (e.g. Pl. XIII, 14, 18, 19). The piriform variety is comparatively rare, but several examples exhibit striking departures in the decoration: one from Klavdia (*BM. Cat.* C 514, fig. 179; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 17) has a broad zone of bulls' heads around the body; another (Pl. XIII, 16) has a 1½-inch zone of linear patterns immediately below the handles.

Spouted jars with a basket-handle ('tea-pots' or 'drinking-jars', F 161), though familiar in the Myc. III B of Greece, are remarkable for their absence in Cyprus. This is the more striking since the shape probably originates from Syria,[1] and one might therefore have expected it to appear in Cyprus before it did in Greece itself. Actually the opposite is true.[2]

It will be apparent from this summary that it is to this III B phase that most of those pot-types belong which Sjöqvist classes as specifically 'Levanto-Helladic'. Both the forms and decoration of these conclusively prove the existence of a local or provincial fabric, characterized also (as he has noted) by concentration on a limited repertory of pot-types, a repertory which in fact omits pretty well all those types which are of specifically Helladic (as opposed to Minoan) antecedents.[3] The possibility that Mycenaean wares continued to some extent to be imported from Greece is not wholly precluded by these local variations in the pottery; otherwise it could hardly happen that some pots should still be so closely similar to the products of mainland Greece. But the great majority of the Myc. III B pottery in Cyprus appears to be of local manufacture. We may not unreasonably assume the establishment of permanent Mycenaean colonies in the island, which would have been valuable intermediate stations for trade with Palestine and Syria, and indeed would trade with those countries on their own account. The pottery evidence for such trade will be discussed in the following chapters. Here we may note in advance, what has often been observed, that much of the Mycenaean pottery from these more easterly regions bears close affinities with that from Cyprus; so much so that Sjöqvist[1] will not venture further, in discussing the origin of this 'Levanto-Helladic' pottery, than to say: 'Its places of origin are Helladic emporia in the Levant—probably including Cyprus itself—and it is a representative product of the special type of culture that flourished at this time under strong Helladic influence in the more or less international harbours and market-places in the eastern Mediterranean.' Here 'places of origin' must, clearly, mean places of manufacture; and the statement seems to me unnecessarily cautious in not admitting that if Cyprus is one of the places of manufacture of this ware, it must be the *chief* of them.

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[1] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 53.

[2] Cf. Furumark, 'Mycenaean III C pottery and its relation to Cypriot fabrics', in *AIRRS.* x, p. 236.

[3] *Problems*, p. 94.

The matter is not susceptible of absolute proof, and archaeologists must here, as often, follow an academic probabilism. The arguments in favour of Cypriot manufacture are primarily stylistic, and they may only be accepted for such Myc. III pottery in Cyprus as exhibits the regional variation of form and decoration noticed above. Sjöqvist rightly points out that imitations of Mycenaean in native Cypriot Base-ring ware do not prove anything about the origin of the Mycenaean models.[2] But it is not permissible to reject so easily the reverse evidence, of occasional imitations in Mycenaean technique of Base-ring and White Slip shapes.[3] As for the evidence of the 'pot-marks' on the base of some Mycenaean shapes found in Cyprus, I think Sjöqvist is right in regarding it as inconclusive, but it does seem to me to enhance the probability of the Levanto-Helladic variants being Cyprus-made (see Appendix B, p. 45). The fact that the 'Levanto-Helladic' peculiarities of form and decoration are often associated with some slight difference of clay and paint, does help to confirm that we have to do with a regional group, but does not localize that group. Actual scientific analysis of clay and paint might, if sufficient tests were made, tell us more, but up to the present little has been done in this line.

In any case, Sjöqvist would admit the existence of some centres in Cyprus for the manufacture of Levanto-Helladic ware, and that Enkomi was one, he regards as 'beyond doubt'.[4] But if there were any potteries at all in Cyprus producing Mycenaean ware it is unlikely that pots of exactly the same type and style would be imported into Cyprus from centres outside the island. (We are surely not to imagine the potters of Mycenaean *emporia* in the eastern Mediterranean 'taking in each other's washing'.) We can hardly avoid, therefore,

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[1] *Problems*, p. 30.

[2] *Problems*, p. 93.

[3] Cf. pp. 32 and 40 above.

[4] *Problems*, p. 96.

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the conclusion that when Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus presents the 'Levanto-Helladic' peculiarities summarized above, it is Cyprus-made. This will mean, in the light of the preceding analysis, that a little of the Myc. IIIA from Cyprus may be local, while the rest of it is not improbably imported; and that for Myc. IIIB the great majority is most probably local, while some *may* be imported.

This being so, we are faced with the fact that the greater bulk of this 'Levanto-Helladic' group was made in Cyprus; for the finds from elsewhere are, as we shall see, only a minority; and it will follow that unless this minority of Levanto-Helladic ware shows some further variations of apparently regional character, the most reasonable course will be to regard them as imported from Cyprus.

APPENDIX B

POT-MARKS

> ...ces vains caractères
> Dont le sens, s'ils en ont, dans les temps s'est perdu.
>
> LAMARTINE, *Harmonies*, II, xii

In his book *Missions en Chypre*[1] Schaeffer drew attention to certain signs, mostly belonging to the Cypro-Minoan script, painted on the bases of some Mycenaean pots found in Cyprus, Syria, and elsewhere. These he regarded as evidence, corroborative if not conclusive, of Cypriot manufacture. Fuller lists and discussion of such marks have since been published by A. W. Persson (*SCE. III*, Appendix I, pp. 601 ff.), S. Casson (*Ancient Cyprus*, pp. 77 ff.; list on pp. 98 ff.), and J. F. Daniel (*AJA.* XLV, pp. 249 ff.; and especially p. 265 ff.; list on p. 281). The intention of the present Appendix is to consider more particularly on what types of pot these signs occur, and to re-examine their possible bearing on the origins of the Mycenaean pottery of the Levant.

The signs in question are executed in a thin, matt, red paint, usually under the base, but occasionally elsewhere on the pot. The paint is not the same as that used for the decoration; and Daniel has shown[2] that the marks were probably painted after the decoration. Schaeffer states that they were made before firing (in which case it would be reasonable to assume that they were made by the potters)[3] but this cannot be regarded as proven.

Signs of the Cypro-Minoan script are also found incised (almost always *after* firing) on the handle (or occasionally the base) of pots of both Mycenaean and other wares found in Cyprus.[4] Such incised signs may equally well be marks of ownership, or may as Persson suggests (*loc. cit.*) refer to the contents; and they cannot be used as evidence of where the pots were made.

The painted signs at present under discussion, however, are always in the least conspicuous position: with two exceptions—one of which is *inside* the pot—they are actually under the base. It thus seems probable that they refer neither to ownership nor contents, but that they were put there by someone—either potter or merchant—through whose hands the pots passed simply *as pots*.

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[1] Pp. 76 ff. and Appendix I.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 265–6.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 76.

[4] According to Sjöqvist, *Problems*, pp. 54, 94, they also occur, incised *before* firing, on the non-Cypriot Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware found in Cyprus. The use of the signs themselves was therefore not confined to Cyprus.

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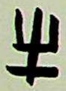
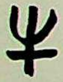
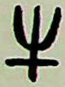
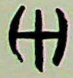
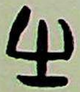
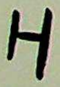
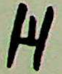
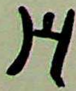
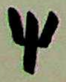
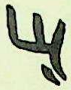
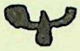
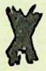
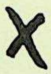
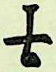
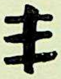
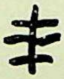
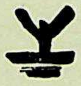
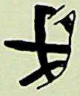
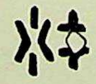
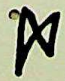
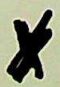
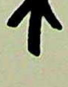
The following list of these painted marks is based partly on a collation of the lists given by Schaeffer, Casson, and Daniel (referred to by the letters, S, C, D) with additions and some corrections from personal observation. (It should be remarked here that as the paint is usually very thin, and, being on the base, exposed to rubbing, it is often difficult to distinguish the real form of the signs.) 'Not seen' indicates that I have not had an opportunity of verifying the mark itself. As the chief purpose of the present Appendix is to examine the style of the pots bearing these marks, particular attention has been paid to an accurate recording of the shape, and wherever possible the bibliographical notes include reference to an illustration of the pot in question.

A. FROM CYPRUS

No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
1		Spouted patera F 250	IIIB	Enkomi Swed. Tomb 6, no. 48	*SCE. I*, pl. CXVII : shape not exclusively Cypriot, but decoration closely similar in style to no. 4 below, from the same tomb S. XI, a misdrawing copied in C. 55, D. 11
2		Open krater F 281	IIIB	Salamis, Tomb 82	Cyprus Museum 1546, unpublished (Pl. X, 1) S. V, a misdrawing copied in C. 26*e*, D. 1*a*
3		Fragment	?	?	Cyprus Museum S. XII, C. 56, D. 10*b*. Not seen
4		Bowl F 284	IIIB	Enkomi Swed. Tomb 6, no. 52	*SCE. I*, pl. CXVIII. (Pl. IX, 1.) Decoration unusual for this type of pot, and probably local work. Style of no. 1 above is very similar S. IX, C. 4*b*, D. 15*b*
5		Jug F 110	IIIB	Enkomi	*BM. Cat.* C 583, fig. 203. (Pl. XIII, 6.) Decorated in Cypriot style, with birds on shoulder S. XXI, C. 4*c*, D. 15*a*
6		Open krater F 281	IIIB	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum 1543. Karemphybikes collection. (Pl. X, 2) S. VI, C. 53, D. 16. Not seen
7		Lentoid flask F 186?	IIIB?	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum, number not quoted S. XIV, C. 46*d*, D. 18. Not seen
8		Stirrup-jar F 179	IIIB?	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum A. 1629 (given by a misprint as 1679 in Schaeffer's list). Karemphybikes collection S. VIII, C. 46*c*, D. 18. Not seen. Shape appears from Schaeffer's list to be the IIIB Cypriot variety, F 179
9		Stirrup-jar F 172	IIIB	Dromolaxia Tomb 1 (Walters 1898)	Cyprus Museum 1594. (Pl. XIII, 11) S. XV, C. 15*b*, D. 9

POT-MARKS

No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
10		Angular jug F 139	IIIB	Hala Sultan Tékké	*BM. Cat.* C 575, fig. 198 (no mention of the mark). (Pl. XIII, 10.) Shape and decoration distinctively Cypriot. Mark faint and obscure S. XX (inaccurate), D. 19
11		Stirrup-jar, squat globular F 178	IIIB	Cyprus	*BM. Cat.* C 555. (Pl. XIII, 17.) Body of pot decorated with simple stripes in the Cypriot manner. The mark is all to one side of the base, and is perhaps incomplete S. XIX (inaccurate), C. 15*c* (a reconstruction), D. 10*a*
12		Piriform krater F 8	IIIA 2	Klavdia	*BM. Cat.* C 412; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 10. Decorated with birds, Cypriot style S. XXII, C. 26*c*, D. 1*b*
13		Stirrup-jar, globular F 172?	IIIB?	Enkomi Swed. Tomb 6	One of the stirrup-jars illustrated in *SCE. I*, pl. LXXXIX. Mark not mentioned in text S. X, C. 26*f*, D. 1*a*. Not seen
14		Necked krater F 53/54	IIIA?	Cyprus	Cesnola Collection 437 D. 1*c*. Not seen
15		Stirrup-jar, piriform F 167	IIIB	Klavdia	*BM. Cat. C.* 514. *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 17. Decoration with half bull figures distinctively Cypriot S. XVIII, C. 2*b*, D. 4. Not seen
16		Piriform amphora F 36 (var.)	IIIB	Enkomi Swed. Tomb 18, side chamber, no. 59	*SCE. I*, pp. 554 ff.; *III*, p. 602. One of several jars of this distinctively Cypriot shape illustrated in *SCE. I*, pl. XC D. 4. Not seen
17		Piriform jar F 31	IIIA 1	Maroni	*BM. Cat.* C 477; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 16. Lower half of mark indistinct; *BM. Cat.* transcription inaccurate S. XVII, C. 58, D. 7
18		Piriform krater F 7	IIIA	Kourion	*BM. Cat.* C 391, fig. 132; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 6. 9. Pictorial decoration. Base broken, but mark probably almost complete S. XVI, C. 1, D. 12
19		Necked krater F 54	IIIA 2/B	Enkomi	*BM. Cat.* C. 377, fig. 122. (Pl. VII. 3.) Painted on the body of the krater, *inside*
20		Stirrup-jar, globular F 172?	IIIB?	Um Haram Tekké	Cyprus Museum 1605. (Pl. XIII, 12.) Mark very faint, and form of it doubtful S. XIII, C. 57, D. 6
21		Piriform jar F 45	IIIA	Maroni Tomb 22	Cyprus Museum 1664. (Pl. VIII, 6.) Mark obscure, perhaps same sign as no. 20?
22		Piriform jar F 45	IIIA	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum 1655. Hore Collection. (Pl. VIII, 7)

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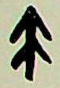
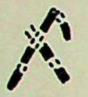
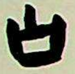
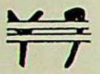
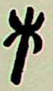
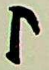
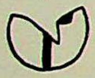
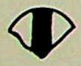
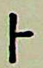
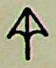
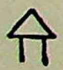
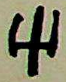
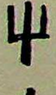
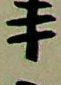
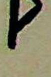
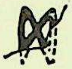
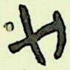
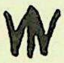
No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
23		Piriform jar F 31	III A 1	Maroni, Tomb 23	Cyprus Museum 1654. (Pl. VI, 3.) An early tomb, with III A 1 pottery
24		Necked krater F 54	III A	Enkomi	*BM. Cat.* C. 333; *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 11. 18. Mark partly defaced
25		Piriform jar F 45	III A	Klavdia	Cyprus Museum 1658. (Pl. VIII, 8)
26		Shallow bowl F 296	III B	Kourion	*AJA.* XLV, p. 277, figs. 10, 15. Painted on side of bowl. Shape distinctively Cypriot D. 8 and 13. Not seen
27		Squat stirrup-jar F 179	III B	Salamis, Tomb 84	Cyprus Museum 1632. (Pl. XIII, 13.) Distinctively Cypriot shape S. VII, C. 54, D. 14
28		Piriform jar	III A?	Cyprus	Cesnola Collection 417 D. 3. Not seen
29		'Large krater'	?	Kourion	*AJA.* XLV, p. 277, fig. 15. Mark incomplete D. 1 *a*. Not seen
30		'Closed vase' (fragment only)	?	Kourion	*AJA.* XLV, p. 277, fig. 15. Mark incomplete Not seen
31		'Krater'	?	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum, unpublished. Mark 7 cm. high. (Recorded by Casson) C. 27 *e*, D. 2. Not seen
32		'Large vase'	?	Cyprus	Peabody Museum, Harvard University. (Recorded by Casson) C. 52, D. 5. Not seen
33		'Krater'	?	Cyprus	Cyprus Museum, unpublished. Mark 10 cm. high. (Recorded by Casson) C. 8, D. 17. Not seen

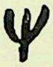
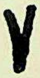
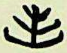
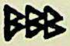
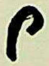
B. FROM SYRIA

No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
1		Spouted jar F 161	III B?	Minet el Beida, Tomb V	*Syria* (1933), p. 100. Shape not known in Cyprus Mycenaean S. I. Not seen
2		Ditto	III B?	Minet el Beida, Tomb V	*Ibid.* Shape not known in Cyprus Mycenaean S. II. Not seen
3		Stirrup-jar, globular (?)	III B?	Minet el Beida, 'sépulture sous dalles'	*Ibid.* S. III. Not seen
4		Necked krater F 55	III B	Ras Shamra	*BSA.* XXXVII, pp. 212 ff., figs. 1–3 Not seen

C. FROM PALESTINE

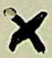
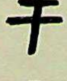
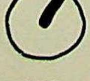
No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
1		Fragment, piriform jar?	IIIB?	Tell Abu Hawam	*QDAP*. IV, p. 53, pl. XXI *w* S. IV, C. 4
2		Fragment, stirrup-jar (globular) ?	IIIB?	Tell Abu Hawam	Palestine Museum, unpublished
3		Fragment	?	Lachish	*Lachish II*, pl. LXIII, no. 4

D. FROM EGYPT

1		Stirrup-jar, flat-topped F 183	IIIB	Egypt	Cairo Museum 26128. Edgar, *Cat. of Greek Vases*, pl. I
2		Stirrup-jar, globular F 172	IIIA	Gournah	Cairo Museum 26131
3		Stirrup-jar, flat-topped F 180/183	IIIB	Gurob	Ashmolean Museum E. 2452. (Pl. XVIII, 4, 4*a*)
4		Stirrup-jar, depressed globular F 173	IIIB	Gurob	Ashmolean Museum E. 2453. Is this sign in cuneiform? (Pl. XVIII, 3, 3*a*)
5		Stirrup-jar, deep flat-topped F 182	IIIB	Gurob	Ashmolean Museum 1921. 1321. (Pl. XVIII, 5, 5*a*)

Note. Schaeffer (*loc. cit.*) cites Petrie (*Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. XXVIII) for four signs painted on Mycenaean pots of unspecified shape from Gurob; but it appears from Petrie's text (p. 43) that the signs there illustrated are all *incised*, not painted.

E. FROM RHODES

1		'Miniature vase'	?	Ialysos	Louvre, Inv. N.A.M. 765 S. XXV. Not seen
2		Krater	?	Ialysos, Tomb XIX, no. 2872	In Rhodes Museum S. XXIII. Not seen
3		Krater	?	Ialysos, Tomb LVI, no. 4893	In Rhodes Museum (?) S. XXIV. Not seen

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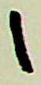
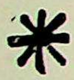
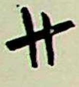
F. From Greece

No.	Sign	Shape of pot	Date	Provenance	Bibliography and remarks
1		'Late Krater'	IIIC?	Mycenae	Nauplia Museum, recorded by Schachermeyr S. XXVII. Not seen
2		'Late hydria'	IIIC?	Mycenae	Nauplia Museum, recorded by Schachermeyr S. XXVI. Not seen
3		'Sub-Myc. hydria'	IIIC2?	Mycenae	Nauplia Museum S. XXVIII. Not seen

The examples from Cyprus in the foregoing may be classified according to the pot-types on which they occur as follows:

F7–8	Krater, open piriform type. Nos. 12, 18
F53–5	Krater, necked piriform type. Nos. 14, 19, 24
F281	Krater, open IIIB Cypriot variety. Nos. 6, 2
F284	Bowl. No. 4
F296	Shallow dish, Cypriot type. No. 26
F250	Spouted patera. No. 1
F31	Piriform jar, earlier type with vertical handles. Nos. 17, 23
F45	Piriform jar, ordinary type. Nos. 21, 22, 25, ? 28
F36(var.)	Piriform amphora, Cypriot variety. No. 16
F109	Jug, globular. No. 5
F139	Jug, angular Cypriot type. No. 10
F172	Stirrup-jar, globular. Nos. 9, 13, 20
F178	Stirrup-jar, depressed globular. No. 11
F167	Stirrup-jar, piriform. No. 15
F179	Stirrup-jar, depressed Cypriot variety. Nos. 8, 27
F186(?)	Lentoid flask. No. 7
	Fragments, shape not accurately determinable. Nos. 3, 29, 30
	Shape inadequately described. Nos. 31, 32, 33

The striking thing that emerges from this analysis is the overwhelmingly Cypriot character of the pots concerned. The first two kraters (nos. 12 and 18) are Cypriot in decoration though not peculiarly so in shape. The bowl (no. 4) is admittedly a rare shape in Cyprus, but is larger than the corresponding type in Greece, and peculiar in the style of decoration, which suggests a provincial origin. The patera (no. 1), from the same tomb, is so similar in style that it must surely be from the same pottery. Of the piriform jars no. 23 is unusual in decoration, but not certainly Cypriot; nos. 17, 21, 22 and 25, show no special features. The same applies to two of the globular stirrup-jars (nos. 9 and 20). I have not seen nos. 13 and 28, nor photographs of them. Excepting the six indeterminates at the end of the list, the remaining pots are all Cypriot (viz., nos. 14, 19, 24, 6, 2, 26, 16, 5, 10, 11, 15, 8, 27 and 7).

Thus, out of the twenty-five examples which I have been able to examine adequately (either from personal inspection or from photographs) sixteen are of Cypriot style, three probably so, and none certainly non-Cypriot. As to date, it is not possible to decide with certainty in all cases. The majority are Myc. III B; but some III A, and two of the piriform jars (nos. 17 and 23) of the earlier phase, III A 1.[1] One of these, as I have said, is not peculiarly Cypriot (though not provably non-Cypriot). But since the rest of the marked pots are so overwhelmingly Cyprus-made, one is disposed to expect that further evidence may show that these two are also, though at present we cannot definitely assume a local fabric in the III A 1 phase.

The examples of such pot-marks from other areas are less well documented, and I have not been able to check all of them personally. There seems particular doubt about the three examples from Mycenae quoted by Schaeffer, and I am inclined to share the view of Casson[2] that these are not to be associated with the signs of the Cypro-Minoan script found on pots from the Levant. Certainly I have never myself seen one of these marks on any of the hundreds of Mycenaean pots from Greek sites which I have examined. On the other hand, the art of writing was known in Mycenaean Greece,[3] and there is no *a priori* reason why such signs should not sometimes occur on the base of pots.

In any case, the recorded marks of this kind from outside Cyprus are far less numerous—fifteen from Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Rhodes, against thirty-three from Cyprus itself; and this, together with the fact that the latter are mostly on pots of Cypriot manufacture, might lead us to assume that the marks were *evidence* of Cypriot manufacture when found on pots elsewhere. This is at best a strong probability, heightened by the fact that the marks are mostly identifiable signs of the Cypro-Minoan script. Daniel,[4] indeed, argues that the marks belong rather to a cognate script, but he is working partly from the assumption that the pots in question are not certainly of Cypriot manufacture, which is (as we have seen) by no means as doubtful as he implies. The fact is that knowledge of the Cypro-Minoan script is still too vague for us to state definitely what signs do belong to it.

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[1] Contrast Schaeffer, *op. cit.* pp. 76 and 77, stating that these marks do not occur on pots of the later fifteenth or first half of the fourteenth centuries B.C.

[2] *Ancient Cyprus*, p. 78, n. 2. Schaeffer's XXVII might be fortuitous, XXVI decorative.

[3] The stirrup-jars with painted inscriptions from Mycenae, Tiryns, Thebes and Orchomenos are well known.

[4] *AJA.* XLV, p. 266.

The marked pots from Syria and Palestine do not, as far as I have been able to check them, give much positive support to the idea that such marks are evidence of Cypriot manufacture. The necked krater from Ras Shamra (no. 4 in the list) is clearly a Cypriot piece; but the two spouted jars (nos. 1 and 2) are of a type (F 161) which is not known to occur in the Mycenaean pottery of Cyprus. The stirrup-jar (no. 3) I have not seen. The three marks from Palestine are all on fragments of shape and style not accurately determinable. The five pots from Egypt show nothing peculiarly Cypriot, unless it is the plain shoulder on one of them. As for those from Rhodes, information is inadequate. The only marked pots which are *certainly* of non-Cypriot type are the two spouted jars from Ras Shamra.

To sum up, these pot-marks are primarily a Cypriot feature. Though they are not absolute and conclusive evidence they do tend to confirm what is already almost a certainty from stylistic peculiarities—the existence of a local Cypriot fabric of Mycenaean pottery from Myc. IIIA onwards. When the Cypro-Minoan script is better understood, and as further examples of these pot-marks are recorded, it is not impossible that we may by means of them be able to trace some of the Mycenaean pottery of the Levant to more specifically localized origins, mostly in Cyprus, but some perhaps elsewhere.

CHAPTER IV

MYCENAEAN II POTTERY IN SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT

1. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

FINDS of Myc. II pottery in Syria and Palestine are extremely rare, but not without significance for the history of Mycenaean trade. The following list includes all the material known to me.

Tell Atchana. In a preliminary report[1] of his excavations Sir Leonard Woolley mentions the discovery of 'a few sherds of Mycenaean pottery of L.M. II date'. Wace, however, states[2] that these are in fact of 'Gjerstad's Levanto-Helladic class' and not earlier than the fourteenth century B.C. Certainly none of the Mycenaean pottery from this site that I have seen in the British Museum or the Ashmolean is earlier than Myc. III; but Sir Leonard Woolley informs me that in the 1947 excavation campaign at least one sherd was found which appears to be of Myc. I or II date: it is from an alabastron decorated with an octopus and seaweed pattern.

Ras Shamra. Although Ras Shamra (Ugarit) had, like the Orontes valley, trade connexions with Crete in the Middle Minoan period, and perhaps even a Minoan colony or *emporion*, no Late Minoan objects have been found there.[3] Of Myc. II pottery there is one alabastron, decorated with a lily pattern (Fig. 9). It was found in a ruined tomb with two pots of Cypriot Base-ring ware and one of Red Polished ware (like those illustrated in *Syria*, XIV, p. 98, fig. 3, nos. 7, 8, 2).[4]

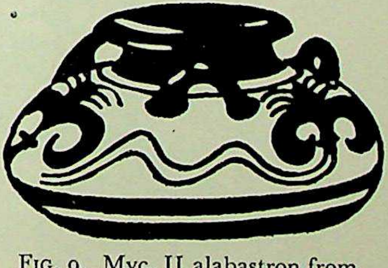

FIG. 9. Myc. II alabastron from Ras Shamra.

Byblos. Four sherds described and illustrated by Dunand in *Fouilles de Byblos I* appear to be Myc. II. They are:

No. 6549 (*op. cit.* pl. CLXXVII). Three sherds, apparently all from the same pot, described (*op. cit.* p. 421) as 'tessons de poterie mycénienne, couleur brique. Terre soigneusement épurée et bien cuite. Décor en tons noir et sépia sur fond crême. Epaisseur 0.005'. Two of the sherds are decorated with the

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[1] *Ant. Journ.* XVIII, p. 8.

[2] In *Klio*, XXXII, p. 137, n. 7.

[3] Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I*, pp. 53 ff., 70.

[4] *Klio*, XXXII, p. 137 and pl. III. 5.

'ogival canopy' motif; the other is part of a zone of zigzag pattern (Fig. 10 *a–c*). They come from a Myc. II Palace Style amphora. For the 'ogival canopy' pattern cf. *AM.* xxxiv, pl. XVIII. 1 (from Kakovatos).

No. 1575 (*ibid.*). Under this number are illustrated seven sherds, described (*op. cit.* p. 106) as 'Fragment (*sic*) de poterie brique claire, en terre très épurée et bien cuite. Décor en tons noir et sépia sur barbotine crême. Epaisseur 0.004'. One of them (Fig. 10*d*), decorated in the 'marine' style (octopus-tentacles, seaweed, etc., are recognizable), appears to be Myc. II, probably from a Palace Style amphora like *Prosymna*, pl. VII. This is presumably the sherd described in the text.

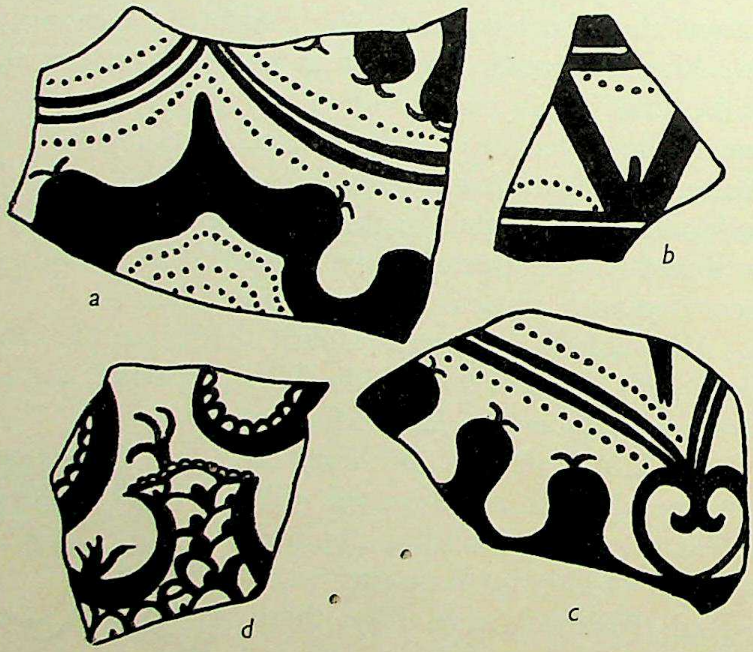

Fig. 10. Myc. II sherds from Byblos.

Palace Style amphorae such as those represented by these sherds are sometimes assumed to be Minoan, even when found in mainland Greece; but their origin is often distinguishable by careful examination of the fabric.[1] Unfortunately I have not seen these Byblos sherds, but from their published description would accept them as Helladic. Moreover the 'ogival canopy' pattern is rare on Minoan pots.[2]

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[1] Cf. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 416, on the pot illustrated in his pl. VII.

[2] Cf. Wace in *Klio*, xxxii, p. 135.

Gezer. At least four of the Mycenaean sherds recorded by Macalister[1] seem to be earlier than Myc. III. They are:

(1) Bowl of a large Myc. II kylix (shape F263) with running-spiral ornament (Fig. 11 *a*). Cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 674. Furumark (*MP*. p. 647) regards both this piece and no. (3) below as Minoan.

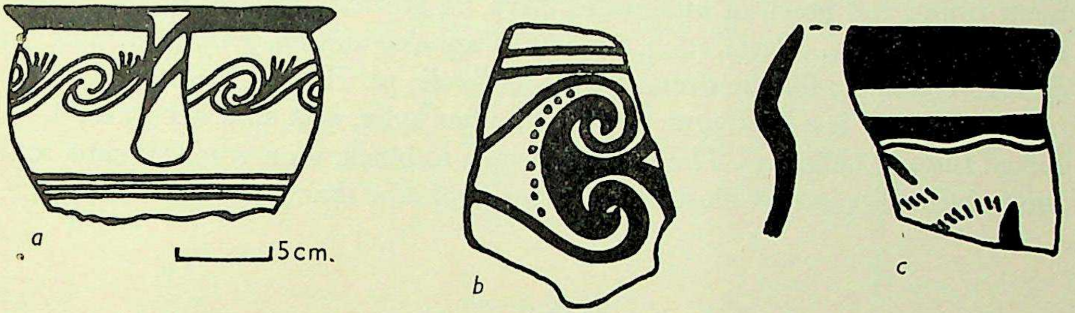

FIG. 11. Myc. II sherds from Gezer.

(2) Sherd with an ivy-leaf pattern (Fig. 11 *b*) common in various forms in Myc. II (cf. *MP*. figs. 35–6, especially fig. 36, no. 30; also *Ch. Tombs*, pl. XLVIII. 8).

(3) Sherd from bowl of a kylix rather like (1) in shape (Fig. 11 *c*). The decoration looks Minoan rather than Mycenaean. Cf. the sherds illustrated in *P. of M.* IV, i, p. 361, fig. 301, especially *f* and *p* which like the Gezer sherd have a wavy line below the stripe on the lip.

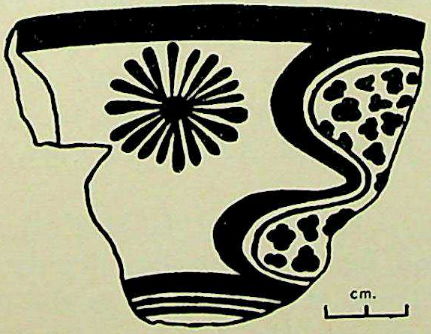

FIG. 12. Myc. II sherd from Gezer.

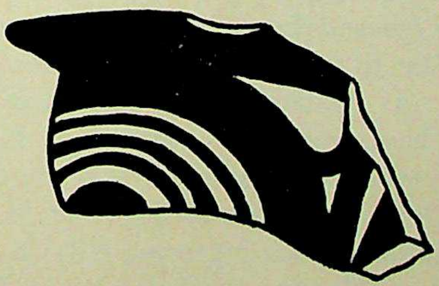

FIG. 13. Myc. II sherd from Lachish.

(4) The fourth sherd (Fig. 12), painted with a figure-of-eight shield, is difficult to date. I have not seen it, and the published illustration leaves the shape in doubt. As I have indicated elsewhere,[2] the figure-of-eight shield is known in Myc. III, when it usually occurs on ritual vessels; but it was used

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[1] *Excavation of Gezer*, pl. CLI. 9, 12, 18; and vol. II, p. 156, fig. 318.

[2] *BSA*. XLII, p. 58.

also in Myc. II. The rosette which here accompanies it looks Myc. II in manner. Cf. *MP.* fig. 40, motif 17. 14, and the rosette on an Ephyraean kylix in *Prosymna*, fig. 675. Wace accepts the sherd as L.H. II.[1]

Lachish (*Tell ed Duweir*). In the first structure of the Fosse Temple at Lachish was found a fine one-handled kylix (Pl. XIV, 1) with ivy-leaf ornament round the bowl, of undoubted Myc. II fabric.[2] For the shape (F 262) compare ’Εφ. ’Αρχ. (1899), pl. 7. 19 (from Vapheio) and *Ch. Tombs*, pl. XLI. 33 (from Mycenae); for the decoration, *Ch. Tombs*, pl. II.

Also Myc. II is a lip-fragment from another kylix, or a cup, decorated with linked spirals[3] (Fig. 13). The paint is brown to black, on a greenish clay, and the published coloured illustration leaves no doubt that it is a Myc. II piece.

2. EGYPT

I am unable to add any further specimens to the list of L.H. I and II pots found in Egypt which has been compiled by Wace and Blegen,[4] and which supersedes Pendlebury's discussion of the subject;[5] but for convenience I reproduce the substance of that list here, arranged in geographical order of sites (see the map, Fig. 14), with a few details of description added from my own observation. (The references in square brackets are to the plates illustrating Wace and Blegen's article.)

Abusir. Cup (type F 211). Cairo 26124; *AA.* (1899), p. 57; C. Edgar, *Cairo Mus. Cat.* pl. I. Clay buff, paint brown-black, with dots of added white.

Saqqara. (1) Alabastron (type F 82). Cairo 47772; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. XLII, pp. 69 f.; *P. of M.* II, p. 498, fig. 304. Fabric similar to the Abusir cup. On the base, wavy cross pattern [cf. Pl. II, 3].

(2) Alabastron (type F 82), in Berlin. *FLMV.* pl. XXII. 159, 159*a*. On the base, wavy cross pattern [cf. Pl. II, 3].

(3) Shallow cup, or 'saucer' (type F 237). Cairo 47773; C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *op. cit.* pl. XLII; *P. of M.* II, p. 498, fig. 304. Fabric similar to (1).

Lahun. Squat jug (type F 87) from the Tomb of Maket, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. XXVI; *P. of M.* II, p. 512, fig. 315*d*.

Gurob. (1) Alabastron (type F 82). Cairo 47079; G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. XIII, p. 13; W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl. XLVIII, 1, p. 23; *P. of M.* IV, p. 267, fig. 197. Clay pale buff, paint brown-black. On the base, two concentric rings, with a small wavy cross in the centre.

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[1] *Klio*, p. 137 and n. 6.

[2] *Lachish II*, pp. 83–4 and pl. LVIII, B. 5.

[3] *Op. cit.* pl. LXIII. 3.

[4] *Klio*, XXXII, p. 145 ff.

[5] In *Aegyptiaca* and *JEA.* XVI (1930), pp. 83 f. The map, Fig. 14, is based on pl. XXII in the latter article.

(2) Another; W. L. S. Loat, *Gurob*, pl. XVII. 5.

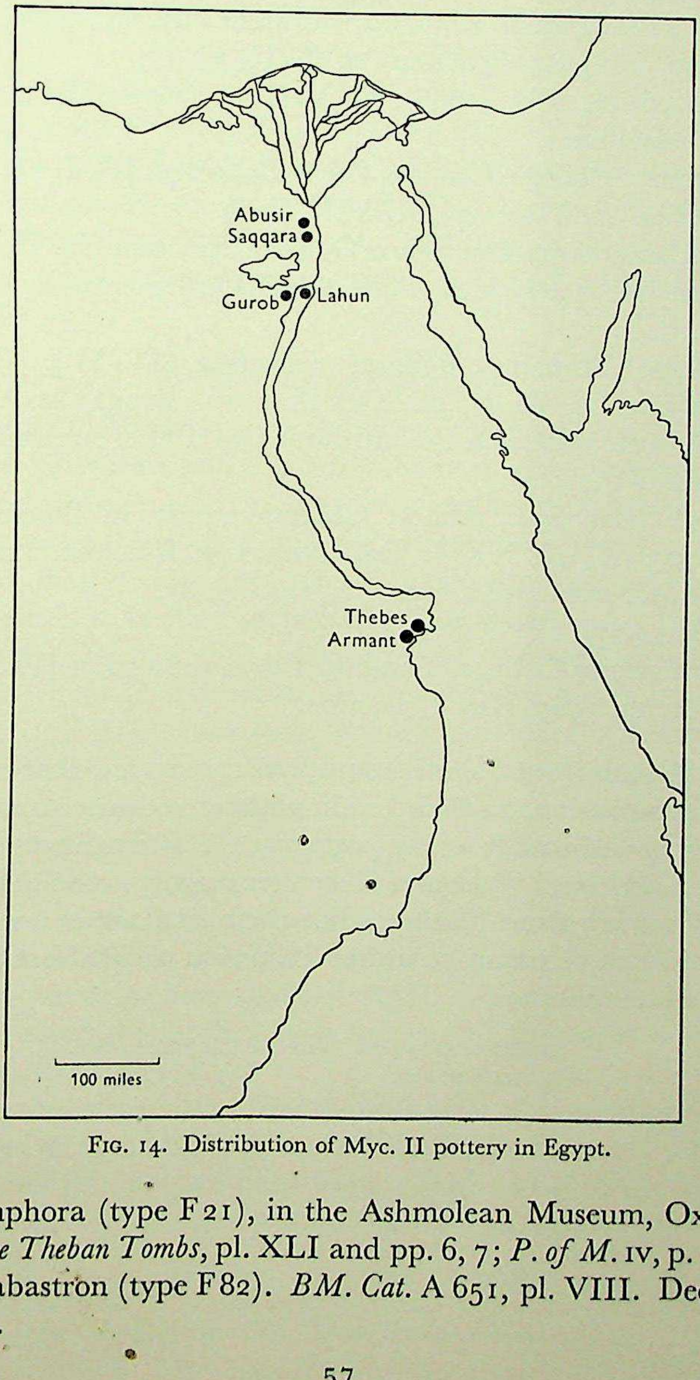

FIG. 14. Distribution of Myc. II pottery in Egypt.

Thebes. Amphora (type F21), in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XLI and pp. 6, 7; *P. of M.* IV, p. 275, fig. 208.

Armant. Alabastron (type F82). *BM. Cat.* A 651, pl. VIII. Decorated with marine motifs.

Site uncertain

(*a*) Alabastron (type F 82):

(1) Cairo 26125; C. Edgar, *Cairo Mus. Cat.* pl. I; *AM.* (1898), pl. VIII. 3; *P. of M.* IV, p. 272, fig. 202. Clay red with light buff slip, paint dark brown-black. On base, wavy cross pattern [cf. Pl. II, 3].

(2) Cairo 26126; *AM.* (1898), pl. VIII. 1. Similar fabric to last. On base, parallel wavy lines.

(3) University College, London, Petrie Collection [Pl. I, 1]. On the base, wheel pattern like *Ch. Tombs*, pl. XLVIII. 8–10.

(4) Manchester Museum, Sharp Ogden Collection [Pl. II, 3, 4].

(5) Boston 72, 1484, Hay Collection. On base, wavy cross pattern [cf. Pl. II, 3].

(6) Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour collection [Pl. IV]. On the base, wheel pattern like *Ch. Tombs*, pl. XLVII. 8–10. Bought at Akhmim. The Museum authorities state that the attribution to Tell el Amarna is false.[1]

(*b*) Jug (type F 104):

New York Hist. Soc., Abbott Collection, now in Brooklyn Museum. *AJA.* VI, pp. 437 ff., pl. XXII; *Bull. New York Hist. Soc.* XII, pp. 125 ff.; R. Dussaud, *Civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 114, fig. 85.

(*c*) Squat jug (type F 87).

(1, 2) University College, London, Petrie Collection [Pls. I, 2; III, 6].

(3) Boston 72, 1485, Hay Collection.

The Myc. II finds from Palestine and Syria are so few that it is impossible to form any hypothesis as to their origin without recourse to arguments outside what may be deduced from the pottery itself. From Egypt the number of pots is a little larger; and Wace and Blegen tentatively note similarities in style with L.H. II pottery from Thebes;[2] but these similarities are by no means conclusive evidence of origin. Further discussion of all this material will be reserved for a later chapter.

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[1] I am indebted to Prof. Wace for this information.

[2] *Klio*, XXXII, p. 147.

CHAPTER V

MYCENAEAN III POTTERY IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

In this chapter the Mycenaean III pottery found in Syria and Palestine will be divided into III A and III B (following Furumark's classification). The material under either heading will be listed according to the places of finding (arranged in order from north to south), and each of the two sections will be followed by a general consideration of the style and probable origins of the pottery.

1. Mycenaean IIIA

Tell Atchana. The Mycenaean finds from this site have yet to be published in detail; but it is clear from Sir Leonard Woolley's preliminary reports[1] and from information generously placed at my disposal by him that they are of considerable importance to the present inquiry. From the pre-war excavations it at first appeared that all the Mycenaean material at Atchana was, with the exception mentioned in the previous chapter, of the III A phase, and comparable with that from Tell el Amarna;[2] but although some is certainly at least as early as that it now seems clear that other pieces belong to a more advanced stage of III A and some definitely to III B. Among the earliest Myc. III A pieces is part of a piriform jar with vertical handles (probably F 24 or 25) decorated with a net pattern on the shoulder. Fragments of a krater of Cypriot type, decorated with a large octopus in red with dots of superimposed white may also belong to a fairly early stage of Myc. III A. Other krater fragments are a little difficult to place, as between III A and III B; and a number of the shapes represented—stirrup-jars (piriform and globular), pilgrim-flasks, piriform jars, shallow cups, and pyxides, present the same difficulty. No detailed analysis is possible pending the excavator's own report, and the stratigraphic evidence.

Other sites in the 'Amuq plain. Braidwood's general survey[3] of the mounds in this area makes no specific mention of Mycenaean among the sherds collected; but the material has not yet been fully sorted and studied, and Mr Braidwood informs me that there certainly were Mycenaean sherds in phase M

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[1] *Ant. Journ.* xviii, pp. 1 ff. with pl. VIII; *Illustr. London News* (17 Sept. 1938), p. 504.

[2] Cf. Woolley in *Ant. Journ.* xviii, p. 4. For Tell el Amarna see ch. vi below.

[3] *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch* (*Univ. Chicago Or. Inst. Pub.* xlvii).

(corresponding to Tell el Judaidah Level VI of the published survey), probably making 'no more than two or three per cent of the total sherd bulk'. At present it is not possible to say to what phase of Myc. III these belong, but in view of the Atchana evidence one might expect the neighbouring sites also to be using some imported Mycenaean pottery from Myc. III A onwards.

Khan Sheikhoun. Among the Bronze Age pottery reported from this site is a fragment of the shoulder of a Myc. III A stirrup-jar.[1]

Hama. Only two Mycenaean sherds were found in the excavation of this site. One is in the National Museum, Copenhagen; the other (of which I have only seen a photograph) is in Damascus. Both appear to be from Myc. III A stirrup-jars.[2]

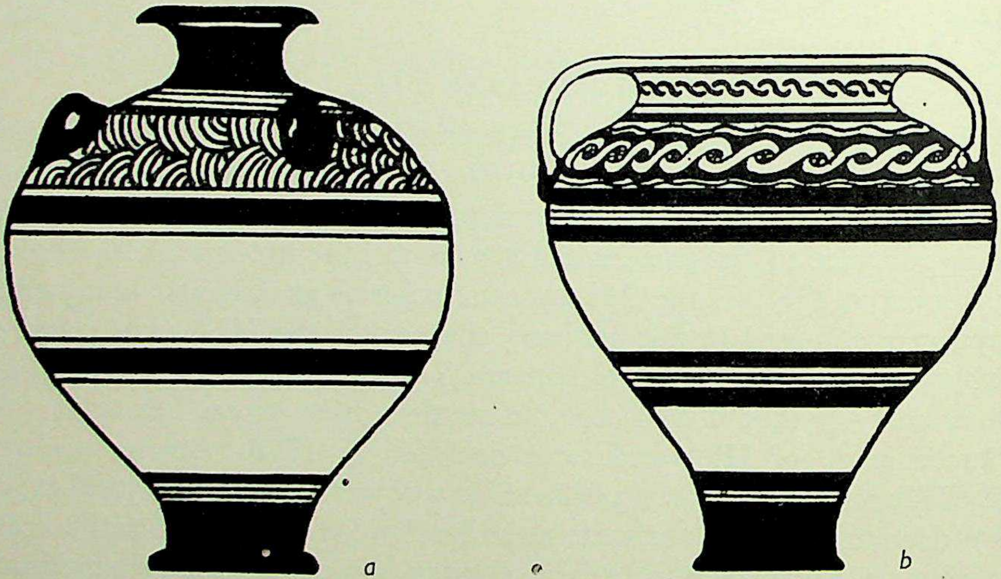

Fig. 15. Myc. III A 1 pots from Katna.

Katna (*El Mishrifeh*). At the sanctuary of Nin-Egal, which is believed by the excavators to have been destroyed not later than 1375 B.C.,[3] were found two fine pots of early Myc. III A style.[4] One is a large piriform jar (F 34), 0.38 m. high, decorated in reddish brown paint (Fig. 15*a*); the other a necked krater (F 52), 0.32 m. high (Fig. 15*b*). The bowl, no. 111, found with them, is not Mycenaean as implied on p. 21 of the published account, but Cypriot.

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[1] *Syria*, xiii, p. 178 and pl. XXXVI. 112.

[2] I am indebted to Prof. Riis of Copenhagen for making this information available to me. The sherds are not mentioned in the preliminary report of the excavations.

[3] Cf. *Syria*, ix, pp. 6 ff.

[4] Cf. *Syria*, ix, pp. 20 ff., nos 109, 110; pl. XVII. 3 and pl. XVIII.

Charbonneaux[1] dates the two pots to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., with a suggestion that Rhodes was their place of origin. Certainly the nearest parallels for the jar with the scale pattern on the shoulder are among the finds from Ialysos.[2] The evidence for the date of these two pots is fully discussed by Furumark,[3] who concludes both on stylistic grounds and from the circumstances of their discovery that they were made about 1400 B.C.

Kadesh (*Tell Nebi Mend*). In the Syro-Hittite levels of this site corresponding with the XVIIIth and XXth Egyptian dynasties a number of Mycenaean sherds were found, together with imported Cypriot wares, which are imitated by the local pottery (cf. M. Pézard, *Qadesh*, pp. 30 f.). A few of the sherds are illustrated in the publication: pl. XXXVIII, fig. 3 *d*, shows the false necks of two stirrup-jars, the wavy band round one of which suggests a date early in L.H. IIIA; the two fragments in fig. 3 *b* appear to be from a small, possibly hand-made, bowl or cup. These, and the five other small sherds illustrated, cannot be dated with any certainty. (The editor puts them all in the 'second half of the second millennium B.C.'!)

Ras Shamra (*Ugarit*). The Mycenaean commerce with Ras Shamra hinted at by the one Myc. II pot found there (see p. 53) is better attested in Myc. IIIA and IIIB. Most of the finds are of the latter phase, and the site will be more fully discussed in dealing with them; some, however, are clearly IIIA. These include a conical rhyton decorated with an octopus (Fig. 16) from a deposit of cult vessels and other objects at Minet el Beida (the harbour of Ugarit).[4] Furumark[5] assigns this rhyton to his IIIA 1 phase, i.e. perhaps even before the fall of Crete. Another conical rhyton[6] from the same place bears an octopus design of a rather later appearance (Pl. XV, 1) but is probably still of IIIA date; so too are a three-handled piriform jug (Fig. 17)[7] and a piriform funnel.[8] But in proportion to the total amount of Myc. III

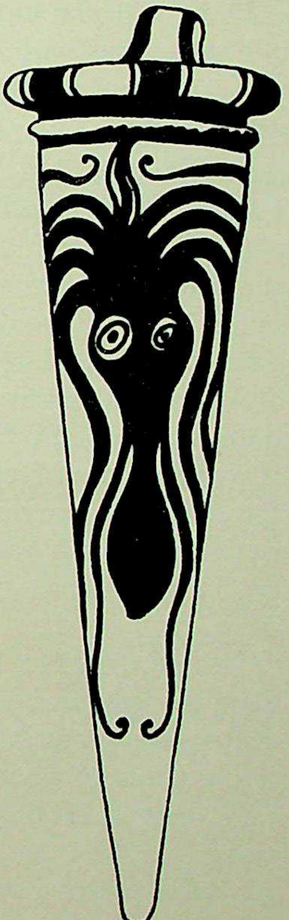

FIG. 16. Myc. IIIA rhyton from Ras Shamra.

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[1] Quoted by Dussaud in *Syria*, ix, p. 133.

[2] E.g. *BM. Cat.* A 836, 837 and pl. XII; *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pls. 39 and 40.

[3] *CMP.* pp. 111 f.; cf. p. 56.

[4] *Syria*, xiii, p. 2 and pl. IV. 2. The lower part is restored.

[5] *MP.* p. 618, type 199:12.

[6] *Syria*, xiii, p. 4, fig. 3.

[7] *Ibid.* pl. II. 2.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 5, fig. 4; cf. *MP.* p. 619, type 201:4.

pottery found at Ras Shamra, there is comparatively little that can be classed as IIIA. Furumark[1] dates part of the contents of Tomb 13[2] to this phase, listing the following types in particular:

F94	Straight-sided pyxis (?*Syria*, XVII, p. 140, fig. 13T)
F114	Globular jug (Pl. XV, 3 and *loc. cit.* U)
F166	Piriform stirrup-jar (Pl. XV, 5 and *loc. cit.* Q)
F171	Globular stirrup-jar (Pl. XV, 2 and *loc. cit.* S)
F189	Pilgrim flask (*loc. cit.* R)
F283	Bowl with one horizontal handle (Pl. XV, 4 and *loc. cit.* O)

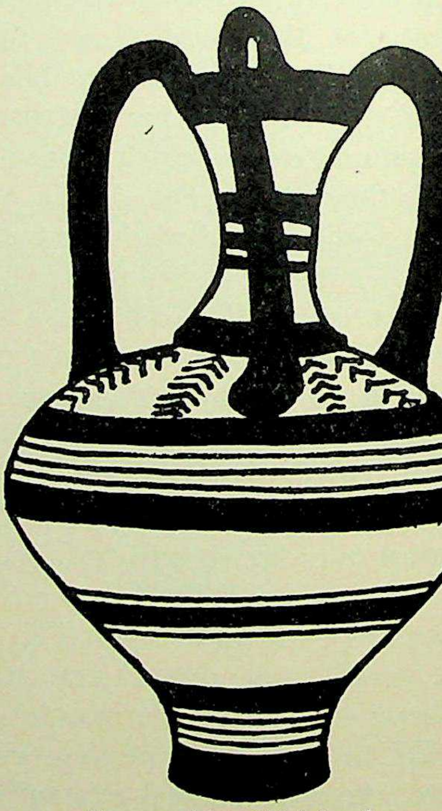

FIG. 17. Myc. IIIA jug from Ras Shamra.

Of these I would accept as Myc. IIIA the piriform stirrup-jar, the pilgrim flask, and the bowl. (This last, now in the museum at Latakia, is of clean buff clay with paint of a good red colour.) The pyxis, the jug, and the globular stirrup-jar may perhaps be later. In fact it would be safest to class the whole group as 'late IIIA or early IIIB'.

A piriform stirrup-jar, probably of IIIA date, also turned up in Tomb LIII, where it was the only Mycenaean pot amongst a total of about two hundred and thirty. The period in which the tomb was used was probably in the main anterior to the Myc. III period.

Not all the Myc. III pots and fragments from the site have been published in detail, and so it is impossible to give a comprehensive account of what falls in the IIIA phase and what in IIIB. The pieces so far mentioned are, however, sufficient to show that Myc. III pottery was being imported from a fairly early stage in the fourteenth century B.C.

Beth Shan (*Beisan*). Of the Myc. III pottery from this site little can be dated earlier than IIIB. Several fragmentary pilgrim-flasks,[3] however, from stratum VIII (which belongs according to Albright's revised dating[4] to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.) may be assigned to the end of the

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[1] *CMP.* p. 61.

[2] *Syria*, XVII, p. 140 and fig. 13, O, Q–U.

[3] G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth-Shan* II, ii, pp. 4, 23 f.; pl. XLIII. 14, 15.

[4] *AASOR.* XVII, p. 76 ff.

III A phase.[1] So may the fragment (neck and shoulder) of a miniature jug, probably of piriform shape.[2]

Tell Abu Hawam. The main discussion of the Mycenaean from this site is reserved for the section on Myc. III B, to which the great majority of it belongs. As at Beth Shan, however, a few pieces may date from the end of III A, including fragments of shallow cups (*TAH.* pl. XXI, no. 308*a*, *b*; pl. XXII, no. 309*i*), stirrup-jars (*TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*l*), and rhytons (*TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*p*). Some other sherds from uncertain shapes also appear to be of III A style, e.g. *TAH.* pl. XX, no. 307*h*, *l*.

Gezer. The chief Myc. III A finds at this site were in Tombs 7 and 9.[3]

Tomb 7. (1) A piriform jar (F 44) with a very flat rim, and a running spiral on the shoulder, both early features. (Fig. 18*a*; Macalister, *op. cit.* pls. LXVI. 44 and LXVII. 2, top left.)

(2) A small alabastron (F 85) decorated with a few stripes above and below the handles, and simple repeated quirks between (Pl. XV, 6).[4]

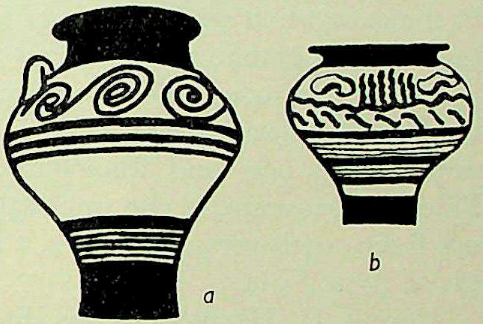

FIG. 18. Myc. III A piriform jars from Gezer.

In the same tomb were a number of pots of apparently local fabric, imitating Mycenaean shapes, e.g. two alabastra (*op. cit.* pls. LXV. 24, 34; LXVII. 2) and a piriform jar with an animal figure painted on the shoulder (*ibid.* pl. LXVI. 49). Macalister refers to this last as 'Aegean', but both shape and decoration show it to be imitative local work.[5]

Tomb 9. (1) A piriform stirrup-jar (F 166) decorated with the usual stripes and lines, with loosely drawn spirals in the shoulder area (*op. cit.* pl. LXVI. 25).

(2) A squat stirrup-jar (F 178; *ibid.* pl. LXXI. 17).

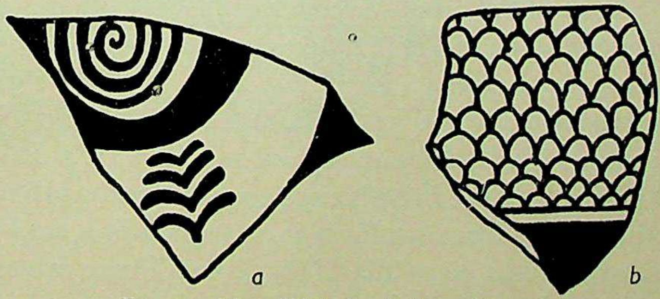

FIG. 19. Myc. III A sherds from Gezer.

Of the miscellaneous Myc. III sherds in Macalister's pl. CLI, the following are probably of the III A phase:

No. 2, shape uncertain (Fig. 19*a*).

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[1] Cf. *CMP.* p. 111.

[2] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.* pl. XLIII. 21.

[3] R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, I, pp. 306 ff.

[4] Cf. *op. cit.* pl. LXVI. 53.

[5] Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, I, p. 306; cf. *CMP.* p. 59.

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No. 14, small piriform jar (Fig. 18*b*); the decoration of the shoulder is unusual.

No. 17, jar fragment with net pattern (Fig. 19*b*).

To these may be added a small piriform jar (Pal. Mus. V, 1679) from near the village of Abu Shusheh (*Pal. Mus. Bull.* III, p. 14 and pl. 7. 1). It has a rather straight body-profile (Furumark's 'Levanto-Myc.' variety, type 46).

'*Ain Shems* (*Beth Shemesh*). During his excavations at 'Ain Shems in 1911 Mackenzie found considerable numbers of Myc. III sherds, in company with Base-ring and other Cypriot wares, in a burial deposit in a cave (described in the excavation report as the 'East Grotto').[1] The sherds illustrated in his report are apparently from stirrup-jars and jugs, and there is nothing in their appearance to contradict the statement[2] that they are 'contemporary with the Tell el Amarna sherds'—i.e. of the IIIA phase. Among some apparently unpublished pots and fragments from the same excavation, now in the Palestine Museum, is the upper part of a piriform jar (Palestine Museum, no. P260) with vertical handles, a feature seldom found later than the IIIA1 phase (type F31).

More L.H. III pottery was discovered at this site by the Haverford College expedition, including a group of IIIA pots in 'Tomb I'. These, which are fully described and illustrated by the excavator,[3] are a pyxis (type F94, Pl. XV, 7), a pilgrim flask (type F189), a globular stirrup-jar (type F171, Pl. XV, 9) and three miniature piriform jugs with 'cut-away' necks (one in Fig. 20, another, Pl. XV, 8).

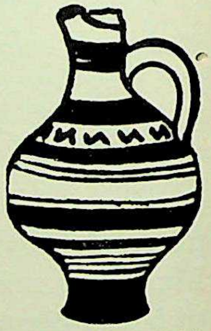
FIG. 20. Myc. III A jug from 'Ain Shems.

Most of the other Mycenaean pieces from this excavation also appear to be of IIIA date. Among the whole pots are a small mug (type F225; E. Grant and G. E. Wright, '*Ain Shems Excavations*, IV, pl. 34. 3), and a small piriform jar (type F45; *ibid.* 5). The fragments (*op. cit.* pl. XXVII. 1–21) include part of an unpainted kylix (no. 3), the rim of a cup (no. 20)—perhaps like the mug already mentioned—and sherds from piriform jars, stirrup-jars, and pilgrim flasks, some of which may perhaps be of the IIIB phase. There are also two fragments from kraters painted with chariot scenes (Fig. 21); here again it is not easy to decide whether they are of IIIA or IIIB date. These are clearly of Cypriot origin,[4] but about the rest we cannot be sure.

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[1] *PEF. Ann.* I, pp. 62–6, fig. 14.

[2] *PEF. Ann.* I, p. 62.

[3] E. Grant, *Beth Shemesh*, p. 196, nos. 508–10 and p. 198, nos. 559–61, with p. 163, figs. 1–3. Cf. *CMP.* p. 59.

[4] Cf. E. Grant and G. E. Wright, '*Ain Shems Excavations*, V, p. 119.

Jericho (*Tell es Sultan*). From the actual city mound of Jericho only one Mycenaean pot is recorded. This, according to Garstang,[1] has been dated by specialist opinion to the period 1350–1200 B.C., but in the absence of any

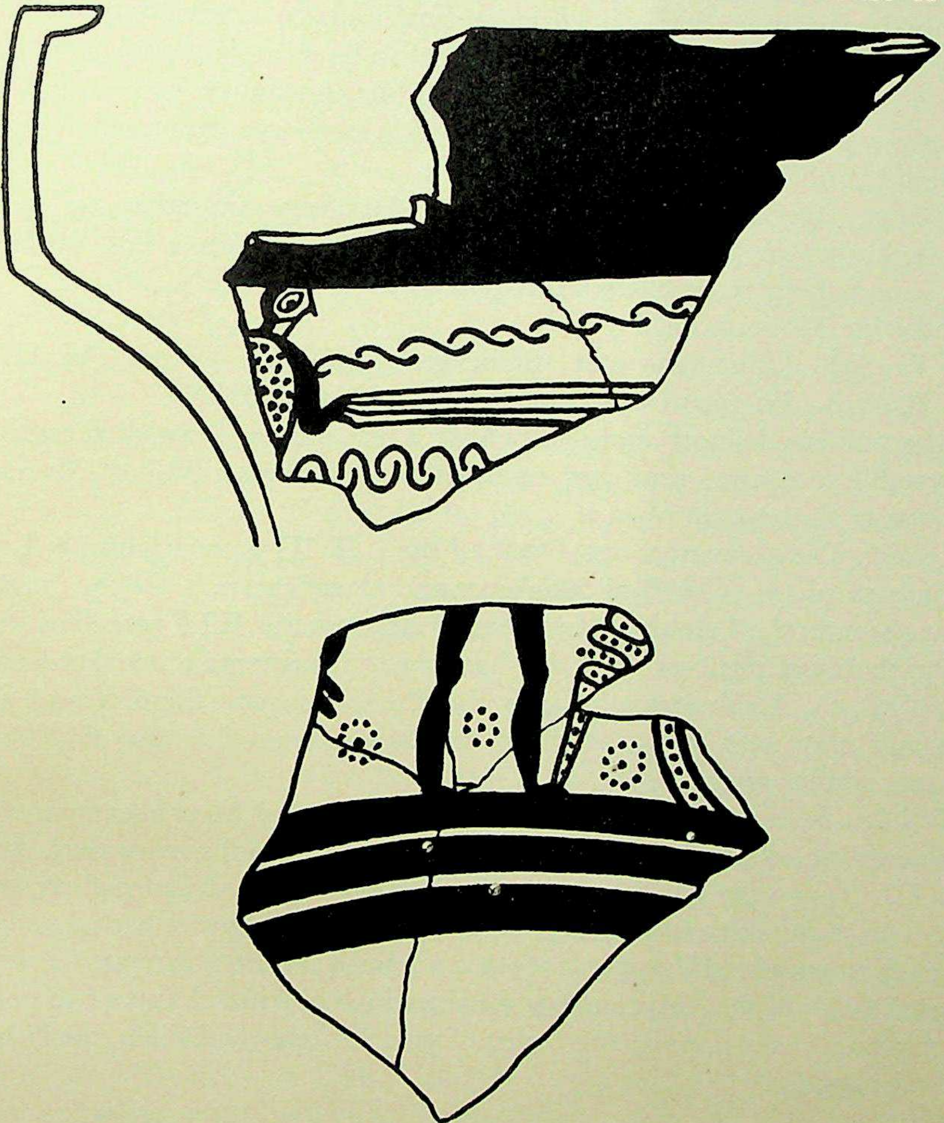

FIG. 21. Myc. IIIA sherds, from figured kraters, from 'Ain Shems.

illustration or further description we cannot date it more precisely. From Tomb 13 come two piriform jars and a small alabastron, originally ascribed by the excavator to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.[2] but shown by

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[1] *PEFQS.* (1930), p. 132.

[2] *Liv. Ann.* xx, p. 20; pls. IV. 1, 2, 5, and XXXII; also figs. 7, 8.

Wace to be not earlier than the fourteenth century.[1] They are types which occur (with minor variations) in both Myc. III A and III B.[2] The smaller piriform jar has a rather slack profile about the neck and foot; but this may simply be through careless workmanship, and no criterion of date. The decoration of all three is too badly defaced to be of any assistance.

Tell es Safiyeh (? *Gath*). The few sherds of Mycenaean recorded from this site include a piece from the shoulder of a fairly large jar, decorated with a net pattern,[3] probably Myc. III A.

Askalon. Mycenaean sherds are reported as very numerous and characteristic in the late Bronze Age stratum of this site.[4] Of those I have seen the following appear to be of the III A phase:

Palestine Museum no.:

P. 1993	Large kylix base, diameter *c.* 9 cm. (*PEFQS.* 1923, pl. III. 7)
P. 2018	Fragment of a conical rhyton (*ibid.* pl. III. 8)

As the published sherds come only from a test section through the site, it is reasonable to assume that they represent a much larger bulk of Mycenaean imports to this coastal town.

Lachish. The excavators state[5] that all the L.H. III pottery found at Lachish belongs to phase A or B of Mackeprang's classification.[6] Of the fragments I have seen in the Palestine Museum the most notable III A piece is a stirrup-jar, probably of piriform type, of which the top and some other sherds survive (Pl. XIV, 2). It is unusually large, the disk being some 6 cm. across, and of fine buff clay with very well fired red paint. There are also fragments of another similar one.

Tell Beit Mirsim. At this site 'fragments of imported Mycenaean vases' were characteristic of stratum C 2, which may be dated not earlier than Amenophis III (1413-1377 B.C.), but were not found at all in the preceding stratum C 1. The excavators therefore conclude that such imports began about the time of Amenophis IV (1377–1360 B.C.).[7] Such a date is compatible with the style of the published Mycenaean sherds, which in general appear to be of the III A phase. They include fragments of pyxides, cups or kylikes, piriform jars, and stirrup-jars.[8]

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[1] *BSA.* XXXVII, pp. 259 ff.

[2] Cf. *MP.* pp. 591–2, types 44–6 and p. 598, type 85.

[3] Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 35 and p. 87, fig. 34, top left.

[4] *PEFQS.* (1923), pp. 60 ff., pls. III and IV, *passim.*

[5] Tufnell-Inge-Harding, *Lachish II*, pp. 83 f.

[6] *AJA.* XLII (1938), pp. 537 ff. His classification corresponds in broad outlines with Furumark's more detailed scheme.

[7] *AASOR.* XII, pp. 37 f.; XVII, pp. 78 f.

[8] *AASOR.* XII, pl. 15, and pp. 43 f.

Gaza. In December 1941 Mr J. H. Iliffe, Director of the Palestine Museum, showed me a fragment of a shallow cup (or perhaps a kylix), then newly found at Gaza, which appeared to me to be of fairly early III A date. It was found under a wall dated by Petrie to the XVIIIth Egyptian dynasty.

Tell Ajjul. The 'Governor's Tomb' excavated by Petrie at Tell Ajjul was probably first used in the reign of Tutankhamon (1360-1350 B.C.), but a scarab of Ramses II shows that it remained in use for about half a century in all.[1] Of the three burial layers distinguished by the excavator the lower two contained a number of pots of Myc. III A style, while the four small stirrup-jars from the top layer (three of them perhaps local imitations) should be assigned to the III B phase.[2]

The III A pots were the following:

(*a*) Pyxis (type F 94): three in the bottom layer, one in the middle. The one which I have seen is decorated with stripes of purplish paint round the body, bordered by single lines, and with vertical dashes on the shoulder (Pal. Mus. 33. 1526; cf. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, III, pl. X, 'base', second row, second from left).

(*b*) Piriform jar (type F 45): one in the bottom layer, two in the middle. All three have the usual type of decoration—stripes round the body, and simple shoulder patterns of repeated chevrons or arcs (Pal. Mus. 33. 1486, 33. 1487, 33. 1499; cf. *op. cit.* pl. XI. 56, type 645, pl. X, 'mid', second row, second from left). A fourth (Pal. Mus. 33. 1828) is catalogued as from the same tomb, but only three are mentioned in the published report.

(*c*) Miniature piriform jug (type F 134): one from the bottom layer (*op. cit.* pl. XI. 64). Similar jugs were found at 'Ain Shems (*q.v.*).

(*d*) Piriform stirrup-jar (type F 166): one from the bottom layer, three from the middle. I have only identified one in the Palestine Museum; it is of an orange clay, with red to orange paint (Pal. Mus. 33. 1496; *op. cit.* pl. X, 'mid', second row, on left).

(*e*) Pilgrim flask (type F 189): two, from the middle layer, decorated in the usual manner, with close concentric circles in dark red paint (Pal. Mus. 33. 1492; *op. cit.* pl. X, 'mid', top left; and Pal. Mus. 33. 1493).

Mycenaean pottery from other parts of the site is less accurately datable from the circumstances of finding, but in general appears to be of the III A phase, which fits in with the view that the last palace at Ajjul was destroyed in the revolt under Akhnaton.[1] The chief types represented, according to the published account, are:

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[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, III, pp. 5 f.; pls. VII, X–XIII.

[2] Cf. *CMP*. pp. 61, 69.

piriform jar (F 45): *Ancient Gaza*, II, pl. V;
stirrup-jar, piriform (F 166): *ibid*; another: pl. XXXIV. 64 R 7;
pilgrim flask (F 189): *op. cit.* vol. I, pl. XLIX. 69 P 2, 5; vol. II, pl. V.

The individual pots are not described, but this list corresponds at least in part with a group of pots from Tell Ajjul now in the Ashmolean Museum, viz.:

1932. 954. Piriform stirrup-jar, height *c.* 0·18 m. Clay buff, paint red, badly rubbed. Decorated with horizontal stripes and lines, and groups of chevrons on the shoulder. (Pl. XIV, 3.)

1932. 953. Pilgrim-flask, height *c.* 0.18 m. Clay buff, paint red, rather thin, and not now very glossy. Decoration of the usual type—concentric circles on either side, with a series of short curved horizontal lines filling the space below the handles. (Pl. XIV, 4.)

1932. 961. Pilgrim-flask, height *c.* 0·15 m. Similar to last. (Pl. XIV, 5.)

1932. 955. Globular stirrup-jar, slightly baggy form. Height *c.* 0·15 m. Clay buff, paint red, rather dull and rubbed. Decorated with horizontal stripes and lines; shoulder plain. (Pl. XIV, 6.)

1932. 957. Bottle, height *c.* 0·15 m. Clay greenish, paint purple-brown. Decoration of horizontal stripes and lines, like a stirrup-jar. (Pl. XIV, 7.)

The last two of this group belong to the end of III A, perhaps even to III B; certainly the bottle shape is more typical of the latter. The piriform stirrup-jar, however, and the pilgrim-flasks are characteristic of III A.

Gerar (*Tell Jemmeh*). Among Mycenaean sherds from this site Petrie records 'part of a Mykenaean piriform vase, like those found at Amarna, while this would be about 1420 B.C., by the level'.[2] The illustration[3] is not very illuminating, but there seems no reason to doubt the comparison with the Amarna sherds, which Petrie knew well. The fragment should therefore be Myc. III A.

An examination of the pot-types represented by these Myc. III A finds gives some indication of their probable origin.

The large *piriform jar* (F 34) found at Katna is, as stated above, of a type most frequent in Rhodes, though not wholly unknown in other parts of the Mycenaean world. This is the only Myc. III A example from Palestine and Syria apart from the fragment from Tell es Safiyeh.

The *necked krater* (F 52) found with the Katna jar is an early III A variety of this characteristic Cypriot type. The closest parallel I know for the shape of this particular example is a krater from Maroni in the British Museum.[1] That, however, has a deeper neck, and is decorated with a frieze of goats, while the linked spirals on the Katna jar find a close parallel on jars from Rhodes, e.g. *CVA. Copenhagen 1*, pl. 40. 2–6.

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[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, II, p. 1.

[2] *Gerar*, p. 22.

[3] *Op. cit.* pl. LX, no. 88*j*.

The *pyxis* (F 93–5) is represented at Atchana, Ras Shamra (if the example from there really is as early as III A), 'Ain Shems, and Tell Beit Mirsim. It is a type that does not seem peculiar to any particular part of the Mycenaean world.

The *alabastron* (F 84 and 85) appears only at Gezer. The type is much less common in Myc. III generally than in Myc. II, being replaced by the pyxis.

The small *piriform jar* (F 45) occurs at six sites: Atchana, 'Ain Shems, Gezer, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Gerar. If such small total figures will permit of statistical deductions, it is one of the most popular Myc. III A types in this area, as in most parts of the Mycenaean world. Sjöqvist[2] has shown that it is more frequent in Cyprus and Rhodes than in mainland Greece.

Stirrup-jars, perhaps the most characteristic Mycenaean pot-types, are found at almost every site. The piriform variety (F 165 and 166), represented at Atchana, Ras Shamra, Gezer, Lachish, Tel Ajjul, and possibly Kadesh, is the most frequent. This is *not* a common variety in mainland Greece,[3] though found often enough in Rhodes, and to some degree in Cyprus.[4] There are examples of the globular shape (F 171) from Atchana, Tell Ajjul, and perhaps Ras Shamra, and one of a squat type (F 178) from Gezer, besides fragments of uncertain type from several sites.

The *pilgrim flask* (F 187–9) is found at five sites: Atchana, Ras Shamra, Beth Shan, 'Ain Shems, and Tell Ajjul. This type, like the piriform stirrup-jar, is uncommon in mainland Greece, but rather more frequent in Cyprus.[5]

Jugs are rare. There is one from Gezer; and a small globular example from Ras Shamra which may not be as early as Myc. III A. A miniature piriform type is represented by three examples from 'Ain Shems, and there is a rather larger one, with three handles, from Ras Shamra. Similar miniature jugs are known from various regions, including the Argolid and Attica.[6]

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[1] *BM. Cat.* I, ii, C 368; described by E. J. Forsdyke in *Essays in Aegean Arch. presented to Sir A. Evans*, pp. 27 ff.

[2] *Problems*, pp. 69 f.

[3] E.g. there were only 'a few' out of ninety-three stirrup-jars from Prosymna (*Prosymna*, p. 451).

[4] See, for example, *CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 6; *Copenhagen 2*, pl. 57. 1–10 (Rhodes); *CVA. BM. 1*, pls. 2 and 3 (Cyprus), for an idea of their frequency.

[5] E.g. *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12, nos. 32–4, 36, 37, 39 and 40; on frequency of occurrence, cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 52 and E. Sjöqvist, *loc. cit.*

[6] E.g. Argolid: *Prosymna*, fig. 358, no. 1109; Attica: *BSA.* XLII, pl. 14. 5.

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The *bowl with one horizontal handle* found at Ras Shamra is a type rare at most Mycenaean sites, and as far as I know not found at all in the Argolid. It occurs, however, in Rhodes, in Attica, and occasionally in Cyprus.[1]

The *conical rhyton* is represented by at least two examples at Ras Shamra, and a fragment from Askalon. There is also a piriform one from Ras Shamra. These ritual vessels are nowhere very common in Myc. III, and their discovery at Ras Shamra is part of the evidence for the practice there of Minoan-Mycenaean funeral cults, arguing a considerable Mycenaean colony or trading station.[2] These examples, ascribable to the IIIA phase, are the earliest of Mycenaean type, and seem to imply a continuance of customs attested there for Minoan times by stone rhytons of Minoan fabric.[3]

Kylikes and cups are conspicuously rare, and represented only by a few sherds from Tell Beit Mirsim, Askalon and Gaza. As far as the kylix is concerned, this may be because it is a fragile shape which would not travel well.

The most striking point that emerges from this analysis is the presence in Syria and Palestine of Myc. IIIA pots of types uncommon in Greece itself, which has usually been regarded as the centre of diffusion of Mycenaean pottery. Mycenae, or the Argolid generally, can therefore hardly have been the exporter—not at any rate the sole exporter—of the pots under discussion; for we may rule out the possibility that certain types were manufactured for export only—a practice which if not entirely of modern origin is at any rate unlikely to have prevailed in this first phase of the Myc. III period, when (as the scarcity of finds shows) Mycenaean pottery was only beginning to find a market in the East, and cannot yet have been well enough known to create a demand for the same ware in special shapes. That being so we must look for another centre of manufacture.

Nearly all of the pot-types represented occur also in Rhodes or in Cyprus, or both; and either of these might, in view of their geographical position, be regarded as a more likely source than Greece itself. Cyprus is of course the nearer; but we have seen that Mycenaean culture was probably of longer standing, and more fully established, in Rhodes, while Cyprus herself may still have been importing Mycenaean pottery.[4] Some of those pot-types which tell against mainland Greece as the exporter—the piriform stirrup-jar, the large piriform amphora, the one-handled bowl—are actually more typical of Rhodes than of other Mycenaean centres.

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[1] E.g. Rhodes: *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 54, nos. 13–16, pl. 55, no. 1; Attica: *BSA.* XLII, pl. 9; Cyprus: *CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 12, no. 19.

[2] Cf. *Syria*, XIII, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.* with pl. IV.

[4] Cf. p. 36.

The necked krater, however, is a Cypriot type; so is the pilgrim flask—though less exclusively so; and it is possible that we here have evidence that some of the Mycenaean settlements in Cyprus were already sufficiently firmly established to be exporting their own pottery manufactures to Syria and Palestine. The voyage from eastern Cyprus to Syria is not a long one,[1] and such trade would be a natural development. Whether it had actually begun at this date or not, we shall see in the following section that there is ample evidence for it during the III B phase.

2. MYCENAEAN IIIB

Tell Atchana. As mentioned above, the Mycenaean finds from Atchana include stirrup-jars, pilgrim-flasks, pyxides, and krater fragments of which some at least belong to the III B phase. The decoration of the krater sherds (which includes chariot scenes and birds), the prevalence of pilgrim flasks, and the occurrence of the peculiar variety of piriform jar illustrated in Fig. 8 *i* (p. 39 above) all give a general impression, for the III B phase if not also for III A, of a Cypriot origin for these finds.

Ras Shamra (*Ugarit*). The Mycenaean pottery from this site has not yet been published in detail; but what has been described and illustrated in the reports of the successive campaigns of excavation[2] gives a good idea of its general character. Mycenaean pottery was among the very first finds at Ras Shamra, in a corbel-vaulted tomb, the discovery of which prompted the undertaking of more extensive exploration;[3] and similar tombs both under the houses in the town and in the harbour area at Minet el Beida subsequently yielded much more of the same kind. Mycenaean pottery occurred also among house ruins at various points. The tombs are not Mycenaean in type, but have Minoan affinities rather, and continue a tradition established at Ras Shamra perhaps as early as the eighteenth century B.C.[4] Nor do the contents of the earlier of the tombs represent a Mycenaean culture. The earliest Mycenaean pottery that appears is, as we have seen, of III A style; but the great majority of it is III B, and occurs so profusely alongside native and imported Cypriot wares, that Schaeffer considers it can only be accounted for by the existence of a Mycenaean community in Ras Shamra.[5] The theory of a Mycenaean colony is supported by the evidence of numerous Mycenaean cult figurines and ritual vessels, especially in certain deposits at Minet el Beida.[6] In Tomb VI, for example, the Mycenaean pottery included fragments of no less than 152 stirrup-jars and

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[1] Cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, pp. 1 f.

[2] In *Syria*, x.

[3] Cf. *Syria*, x, pp. 20–1.

[4] Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I*, ch. II.

[5] *Syria*, XVII, p. 111.

[6] *Syria*, XIII, p. 12.

31 'hydries' (? kraters), besides 35 human and animal figurines of Mycenaean types.[1]

The stylistic affinities and probable origin of the pottery can best be seen from an analysis by types. Where possible, representative pieces will be illustrated and more fully described, and some indication given of the frequency of occurrence of the various types. Pending more detailed publication, however, this analysis must inevitably be incomplete.[2]

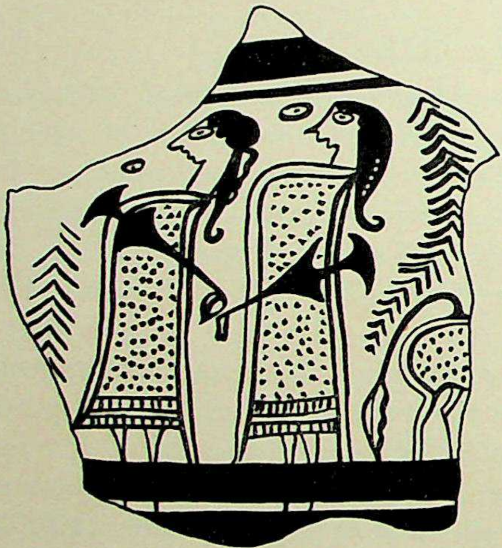

FIG. 22. Fragment of Myc. IIIB figured krater from Ras Shamra.

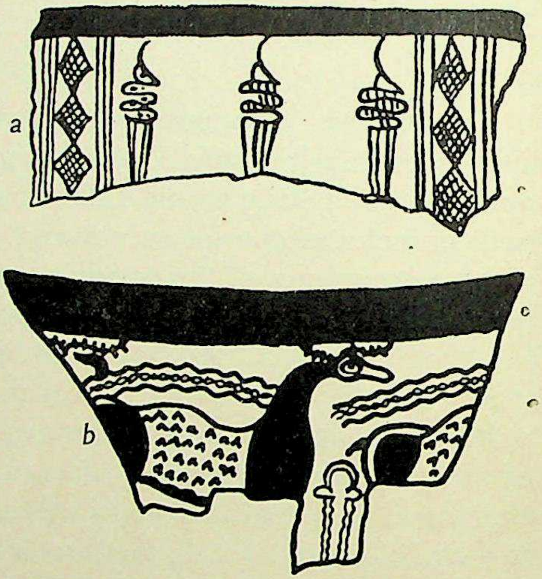

FIG. 23. Fragments of Myc. IIIB kraters from Ras Shamra.

KRATERS. The necked krater (F 54 and 55) is represented by one complete specimen,[3] decorated with chariot scenes. It is not a particularly good example of this type, being somewhat clumsy in shape, with its heavy neck and narrow foot. There is a 'potter's mark' under the base (see Appendix B). A number of fragments of similar kraters were recovered at various points (e.g. Fig. 22 from Minet el Beida,[4] and *BSA*. XXXVII, fig. 16, from Tomb IV; others in Tomb VI).[5]

Fragments were also found of the open variety with horizontal handles; e.g. Fig. 23*a*, with the murex ornament in a panel-arrangement, and Fig. 23*b* with deer (?) and horses. The figured decoration of all these points to Cyprus as their place of origin.

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[1] *Syria*, XIV, p. 104. Particular mention is made of 'hydries à représentation de char'—which from fig. 8, there quoted, appear to be kraters of the open type.

[2] I have not seen all the finds. Those in the Louvre are at present inaccessible; a few I was able to study in the Latakia Museum in 1938.

[3] *BSA*. XXXVII, pp. 212 ff. and figs. 1–3.

[4] *Syria*, XII (1931), pl. III. 2.

[5] *Syria*, XIV, p. 110.

BOWLS. There is one good example, from Tomb V,[1] of the deep two-handled bowl (F 284), decorated with a bold 'panel' design (Pl. XVI, 16). From Tomb VI[2] comes a copy in Mycenaean technique of the Cypriot White Slip II milk-bowl type (Fig. 24; cf. Pl. XVI, 11, now in Latakia Museum). Far more common is the shallow Cypriot Mycenaean bowl (F 296). Fragments of such bowls were among the first Mycenaean sherds found at Ras Shamra, and their Cypriot character was at once recognized.[3] More complete specimens were found in Tombs V and VI (Pl. XVI, 1–6; Fig. 25), others in Tomb XXXVII.[4]

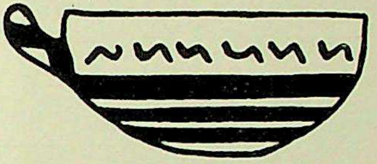

FIG. 24. 'Milk-bowl' shape in Mycenaean technique, from Ras Shamra.

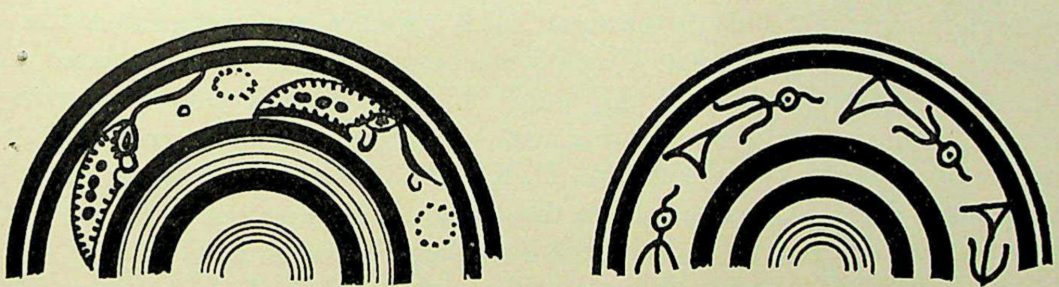

FIG. 25. Patterns from Cypriot Mycenaean bowls, from Ras Shamra.

CUPS. Few shallow cups (F 220) were found. Three now in Latakia Museum (one in Pl. XVI, 13, ? from Tomb VI) are like many Cypriot examples in the extreme simplicity of their decoration. The large tankard shape (F 226) also occurred in Tomb VI.[5]

KYLIKES. 'Des coupes à pied surélevés' are recorded from Tomb V,[6] but not more particularly described, and in general kylikes seem to be lacking. There is, however, one of a most unusual shape (Pl. XVI, 12, in Latakia Museum), which occurs also at Tell Abu Hawam[7] but nowhere else. It is painted with horizontal stripes and lines in thoroughly Mycenaean technique, with a good red paint on smooth buff clay.

PYXIDES. Besides the ordinary III A and B type already mentioned, there is recorded from Tomb VI another variety, with sloping sides, rounded bottom, and only two handles,[8] which occurs at a number of Syrian and Palestinian sites, usually in a rather later context. These pots are frequently of inferior fabric, as though of imitative local workmanship, and appear to be adaptations of a native type under Mycenaean influence. Two examples of the ordinary type are illustrated in Pl. XVI, 8, 9.

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[1] *Syria*, XIV, pp. 100 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 103 ff.

[3] *Syria*, X, p. 21.

[4] *Syria*, XVIII, pl. XXI.

[5] Cf. *Syria*, XIV, p. 105, fig. 8.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 100.

[7] Cf. Pl. XVII, 8.

[8] *Syria*, XIV, p. 105, fig. 8.

JARS. Of the typical Mycenaean piriform jar three specimens are recorded from Tomb LXXV;[1] and there is one in the Latakia Museum (Pl. XVI, 10) which in general shape is rather of the Cypriot variety (cf. Fig. 8*i*) but less angular. The edging of loops in the shoulder zone recalls the larger Cypriot type, one example of which was found in Tomb VI.[2]

JUGS. One example has already been mentioned of the small globular III A and B type (Pl. XV, 3). This type occurs also in Tombs VI and XXXVII.[3] In Tomb LXXV there was a miniature piriform jug with cut-away neck, a type occasionally met in other III A and B contexts.[4]

STIRRUP-JARS. Stirrup-jars are, as everywhere among Mycenaean pottery, extremely frequent, and all the usual III B varieties are represented—flat-topped, globular, and squat. Two of the best examples are illustrated in Pl. XVI, 7 (from Tomb XXXVII) and Pl. XVI, 17 (from Tomb V). Among those of squat shape are a number with the sloping shoulder and angular profile peculiar to Cyprus (Fig. 8*g*). Pl. XVI, 15 (from Tomb V) is a particularly good example, but on others the decoration is in a less finished style, the shoulder being left blank, and the body painted with simple stripes.[5] The blank shoulder also occurs on some of the globular shape.[6] Two stirrup-jars of inferior fabric from Tomb XXXVI may be local imitations[7] of Mycenaean work.

These are merely a few examples out of many; but if we may assume that the published pieces are representative, there is a striking prevalence of Cypriot features.

PILGRIM FLASKS. This shape does not seem to have been found at all frequently at Ras Shamra. Two specimens are illustrated from Tomb XXXVI;[8] but it is not quite clear whether these are of the regular globular form, or of the later flattened or lentoid variety.

SIDE-SPOUTED JARS. So far as I can discover this shape is not mentioned in the excavation reports, but two such pots from Ras Shamra are recorded by Schaeffer in discussing 'potter's marks' (see Appendix B, p. 48).

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[1] *Syria*, XX, pp. 281 f., figs. 3 A, G and 4 G.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* and *Syria*, XVIII, pl. XXI.

[4] Cf. Pl. XV, 8, from 'Ain Shems.

[5] E.g. *Syria*, XIX, p. 202, fig. 5 X, Y; and *Syria*, XX, p. 281, fig. 3 B–D. The view (*loc. cit.*) that these are 'sans doute antérieurs à 1350' seems untenable.

[6] E.g. *Syria*, XIX, p. 202, fig. 5*d*.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 201 f. and fig. 5*b*, *c*.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 202, fig. 5Z, *a*.

RITUAL VESSELS. Brief mention has already been made of the considerable number of ritual vessels found in certain deposits at Minet el Beida, and two rhytons from there have been assigned to a IIIA date. The example in Fig. 26, with fishes painted on the upper half, appears rather of the IIIB phase. Another (Pl. XVI, 14) with a palm motif was found among the ruins of a house along with a vessel in the form of a hedgehog (?).[1] At Minet el Beida there were a number of such zoomorphic vessels, including one in the shape of a fish.[2] Another, simulating a bull's head,[3] has a parallel from Enkomi, now in the British Museum.[4] These are fascinating finds, but by their very individual nature little capable of dating or grouping on stylistic grounds.

Byblos. In the Tomb of Ahiram were found two Myc. III sherds.[5] They do not appear to me to be definitely datable from the published illustrations, though Furumark considers that 'one may with certainty be identified as Myc. IIIB'.[6] With them were objects bearing the name of Ramses II, which suggests a date in the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.

Among the pottery published by Dunand in *Fouilles de Byblos I* the following appear to be Mycenaean of the IIIB phase:

1534 (pl. CLVII and p. 102). Open krater, with a bull on either side, in the 'Rude Style' (Pl. XVII, 1). It is described as 'cratère rhodien', but is certainly of Cypriot origin. The bull is strikingly similar to one on a krater from Klavdia, *BM. Cat.* C 421 (Pl. IX, 4; *CVA. GB. 1*, pl. 10. 9).[7]

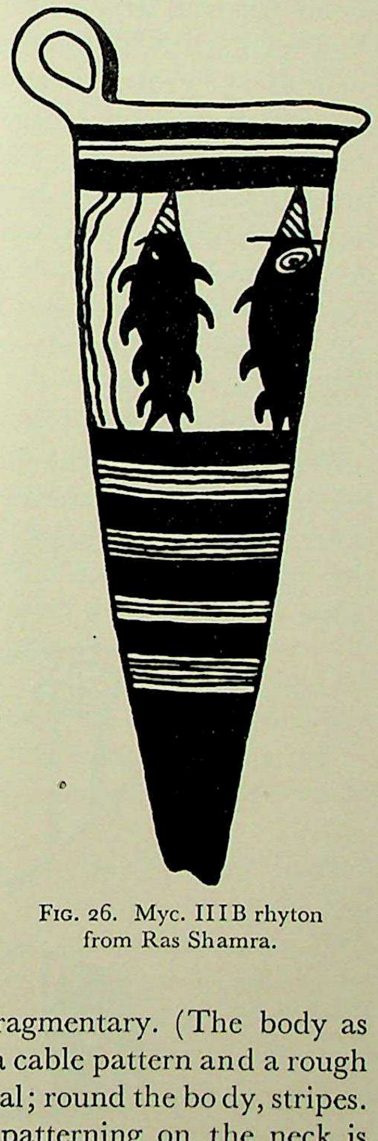

FIG. 26. Myc. IIIB rhyton from Ras Shamra.

1444 (pl. CLVII and p. 94). Necked krater, fragmentary. (The body as restored is far too squat.) On the neck are painted a cable pattern and a rough scale pattern, on the shoulder a crudely drawn animal; round the body, stripes. The painting looks unskilful, and the attempted patterning on the neck is abnormal: it looks like an imitation of the Mycenaean IIIB style of Cyprus. (This pot also is miscalled 'cratère rhodien' in the text.)

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[1] *Syria*, XVII, p. 139 and pl. XVII. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 2 and pl. II. 1.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 115 and pl. XVII. 1.

[4] *BM. Cat.* C 607, fig. 212.

[5] *Syria*, XI, p. 181 and fig. 8 (p. 179).

[6] *CMP.* p. 114 and nn. 3, 4.

[7] On the possible stylistic grouping of such kraters cf. p. 38 above.

2405 (pl. CLVIII and p. 165). Miniature subpiriform jug, of rather clumsy shape (the pot and handle are too heavy) but apparently good fabric; decorated with horizontal stripes, and vertical dashes on the shoulder.

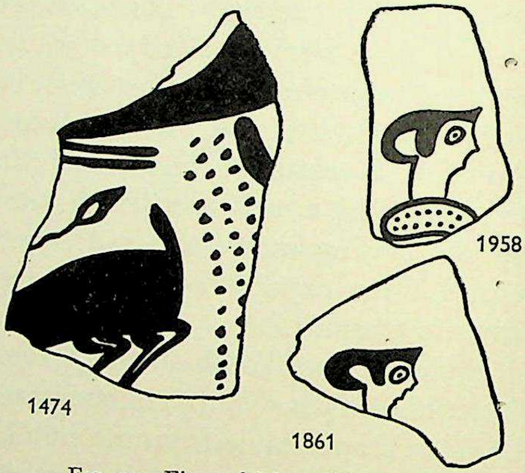

FIG. 27. Figured Myc. IIIB sherds from Byblos.

1474 (pl. CLXXVI and p. 97). Fragment of a (? necked) krater, with hindquarters of an animal (Fig. 27).

1861 and 1958 (pl. CLXXVI and p. 125). Two small sherds, perhaps both from one krater (they were found together), each showing a human head in the Cypriot figured style (Fig. 27). No other sherds of this pot are recorded, which is surprising.

1575 (pl. CLXXVII). One of the seven sherds illustrated under this number is Myc. II (see above, p. 54). The other six are IIIB, to judge by the decoration (three are shown in Fig. 28). It is impossible to say from the illustration alone whether or not they are all from one pot (? krater).

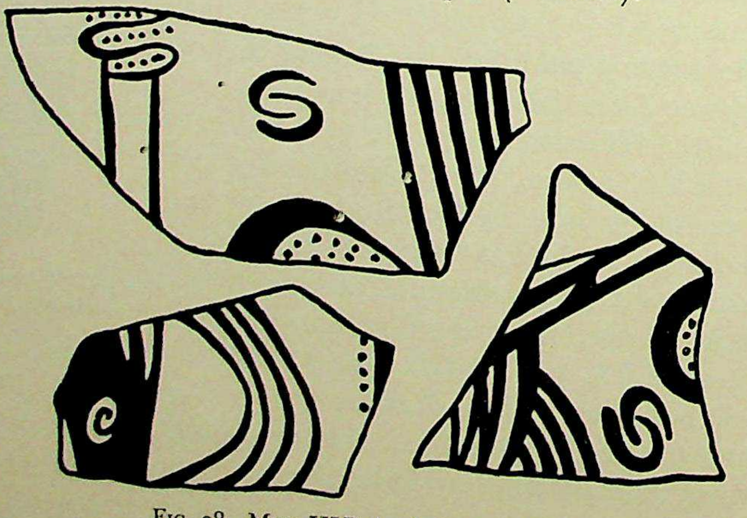

FIG. 28. Myc. IIIB sherds from Byblos.

In 1938 I was shown in the excavation workrooms at Byblos a globular stirrup-jar (height about 17 cm.) stated to have been found outside the Phoenician circuit-wall. It was of pale clay, painted with horizontal stripes and lines in a slightly glossy red. On the shoulder was a linear flower-ornament. I would date it to early IIIB.

Gharifeh. In the Museum of the American University at Beirut is a group of finds from a tomb at Gharifeh (near Muchtara, between Beirut and Sidon), including the following Mycenaean pots:[1]

(1) 1416. Small globular stirrup-jar. It had a normal flower-pattern on the shoulder, but the surface is much defaced (cf. Woolley, *loc. cit.* p. 181 and his fig. 5, which shows only a few dots on the shoulder).

(2) 1417. Small globular jug, decorated with stripes (now defaced) (Woolley, *loc. cit.* fig. 6).

(3) 1418. Small pyxis of very ill-preserved orange clay. No decoration remains (Woolley, *loc. cit.* fig. 7).

(4) Two lentoid flasks of soft red clay (Woolley, *loc. cit.* fig. 9). It is questionable whether these are really Mycenaean; if so the surface is very badly damaged. Woolley (*ibid.* p. 183) states that they were once covered with a white slip, which is not a Mycenaean technique. I observed no trace of this.

In the same Museum is also another stirrup-jar of unspecified provenance, similar to the one from Gharifeh, but with the shoulder plain.

Sarepta. Also in the Museum of the American University at Beirut are the following Mycenaean pots from a rock-cut tomb at Sarafend (ancient Sarepta), attributed to the thirteenth century B.C.:

(1) Four shallow bowls of the Cypriot Mycenaean type (F296, Fig. 8*d*), decorated in semi-matt paint, on three fired red, on the fourth blackish. Two are decorated merely with concentric stripes; the other two have simple linear patterns arranged radially between the stripes (cf. Pl. XVI, 2, 4).

(2) Shallow cup (F220, variety), decorated with a linked spiral pattern on the outside.

(3) Small piriform jar (F45, but with a rather splaying foot); decorated with stripes, N-pattern on the shoulder.

(4) Small globular jug (F114), decorated in the normal manner with horizontal stripes.

(5) Two globular stirrup-jars (F172 and 173), height about 8cm. Both have the shoulder plain; the paint also recalls Cypriot examples in colour and texture.

(6) Depressed globular stirrup-jar (F180), decorated in dark red-brown paint with horizontal stripes, with a band of fine lines between the stripes on the lower shoulder; otherwise there are broad stripes alone—a Cypriot feature. On the shoulder, concentric arcs.

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[1] Cf. C. L. Woolley in *Syria*, II, pp. 177 ff. with figs. 5–7 and 9; also mentioned by D. Fimmen, *Kretisch-Myk. Kultur*, and *AA.* (1909), p. 385, n. 33.

Another example, of similar fabric, is striped in the normal manner, and has a derivative of the flower motif on the shoulder (similar to *MP*. fig. 45, no. 139).

(7) Two squat flat-topped stirrup-jars (F 183). One has concentric arcs on the shoulder; the other a flower pattern.

(8) Two deeper flat-topped stirrup-jars (F 182). One, with fairly straight sides, has concentric arcs on the shoulder and a simple cable pattern between the stripes just below the shoulder. The other has a rather more piriform body; the shoulder is missing, but there is a zonal pattern as on the last, consisting of two parallel lines edged with loops.

(9) Two lentoid flasks, decorated with vertical concentric circles on either side, in a semi-matt paint. The tomb also contained examples of this shape in a wholly matt fabric, with fewer concentric stripes; these are probably local imitations of Mycenaean.

(10) Pilgrim flask (F 189, but the body slightly flattened), fragmentary. Below the handles is a foliate spray ornament; on the side, a pair of horses with 'murex' and floral motifs as filling ornaments. The style of the whole strongly recalls the Cypriot kraters with chariot scenes.

In the same tomb were found an XVIIIth dynasty Egyptian scarab and amulets; a Cypriot White Slip II milk-bowl; a Cypriot Base-ring I bowl;[1] and two plain pointed jugs (? Cypriot White Shaved ware).[2]

Jat. In the Palestine Museum are three Mycenaean pots from a tomb at Jat. They are Pal. Mus.:

No. 36. 244. Piriform jar, height *c*. 22 cm. (type F 45) of buff clay, decorated in brown paint with horizontal stripes and lines. The neck and foot are painted in the usual way; between the handles, a series of pendent concentric loops.[3]

No. 36. 246. Another of similar shape, but of much inferior fabric, unpainted. Probably a local imitation.

No. 36. 245. Stirrup-jar, squat (approximately type F 179), of whitish buff clay, painted with stripes and lines in brown. The shoulder is plain, except for a loop encircling the false neck and the spout. The shape and the plain shoulder suggest a Cypriot origin.

Tell Abu Hawam. This settlement, in the south-east corner of the Bay of Acre, was established not before the reign of Amenophis III: the excavators suggest a date soon after 1400 B.C.[4] Mycenaean pottery was found (together with Cypriot and local wares) among the earliest remains on the site, and occurs throughout the lowest stratum V, which is tentatively dated 1400–1230 B.C. Little or none occurs in the subsequent stratum IV.[1]

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[1] Like Sjöqvist, *Problems*, fig. 8, type 2*b*.

[2] Cf. *op. cit*. fig. 6.

[3] It appears to be this jar which is referred to in *QDAP*. v, p. 97, fig. 6, no. 8, as from 'near Jerusalem'.

[4] R. W. Hamilton, in *QDAP*. iv, p. 67.

Almost all the Mycenaean finds appear to me to be of the IIIB phase. Generally speaking, the fabric is fairly homogeneous; the clay is mostly hard and smooth, and the paint of good quality, usually red, though with a minority of brown and black. Detailed description of the material is unnecessary as it has been so fully published and illustrated by Hamilton,[2] and it will suffice here to give a summary, analysing it according to the types represented. Few whole pots could be restored, but a considerable number of shapes are identifiable from the surviving fragments.

KRATERS. A fair number of sherds are recognizably from kraters, probably of the necked type, decorated in the Cypriot figured style with chariot scenes, etc. (examples in Fig. 29). The broad-mouthed open type is also represented; e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*n*, with a repeated murex pattern; no. 306*s*, with a repeated vertical guilloche of incipient 'panel' style.

BOWLS. There are several sherds of the Cypriot type of shallow bowl with strap-handles (F296, cf. Fig. 8*d*), e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*h*; pl. XXI, no. 308*d* is from a variety with a loop-handle; other unpublished fragments in the Palestine Museum.

CUPS. One shallow cup, no. 235 (Pl. XVII, 4), decorated with stripes only, is fairly complete. Other fragments show various patterns on the outside, e.g. *TAH.* pl. XXI, no. 308*a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *g*; pl. XXII, no. 309*i*. Of these, nos. 308*a*, *b* and 309*i*, with spirals, and possibly IIIA; but the pattern seems to have persisted on this pot-type.

KYLIKES. Fragments of kylikes were fairly numerous. Most are of types with patterned bowl and horizontally striped stem. Examples: *TAH.* pl. XX, no. 307*f*, *j* (murex ornament), *i* (octopus); pl. XXII, no. 309*f*, *g*, *m*. There are also two examples of the Zygouries style (one in *TAH.* pl. XXII, no. 309*h*; one unpublished); and one without painted decoration (*ibid.* *e*). Most remarkable of all is a type with a deep angular bowl, with no handles. One example, no. 280 (Pl. XVII, 8) is fairly complete; fragments of two others are illustrated in *TAH.* pl. XXII, no. 309*o*, *p*; and there are fragments of another (unpublished) in the Palestine Museum. All are decorated with horizontal stripes and lines on both bowl and stem. Both fabric and decoration are characteristically

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[1] *Ibid.* pp. 11, 66. Furumark, *CMP.* p. 65, by an error of transcription attributes certain Mycenaean finds to stratum IV which are in fact from V.

[2] *Op. cit.* hereafter referred to as *TAH.* The present account includes mention of a few unpublished pieces in the Palestine Museum.

Mycenaean, but such stripe schemes are not known on other kylix types; and this particular shape is unknown at other sites, with the exception of the one example from Ras Shamra quoted above.

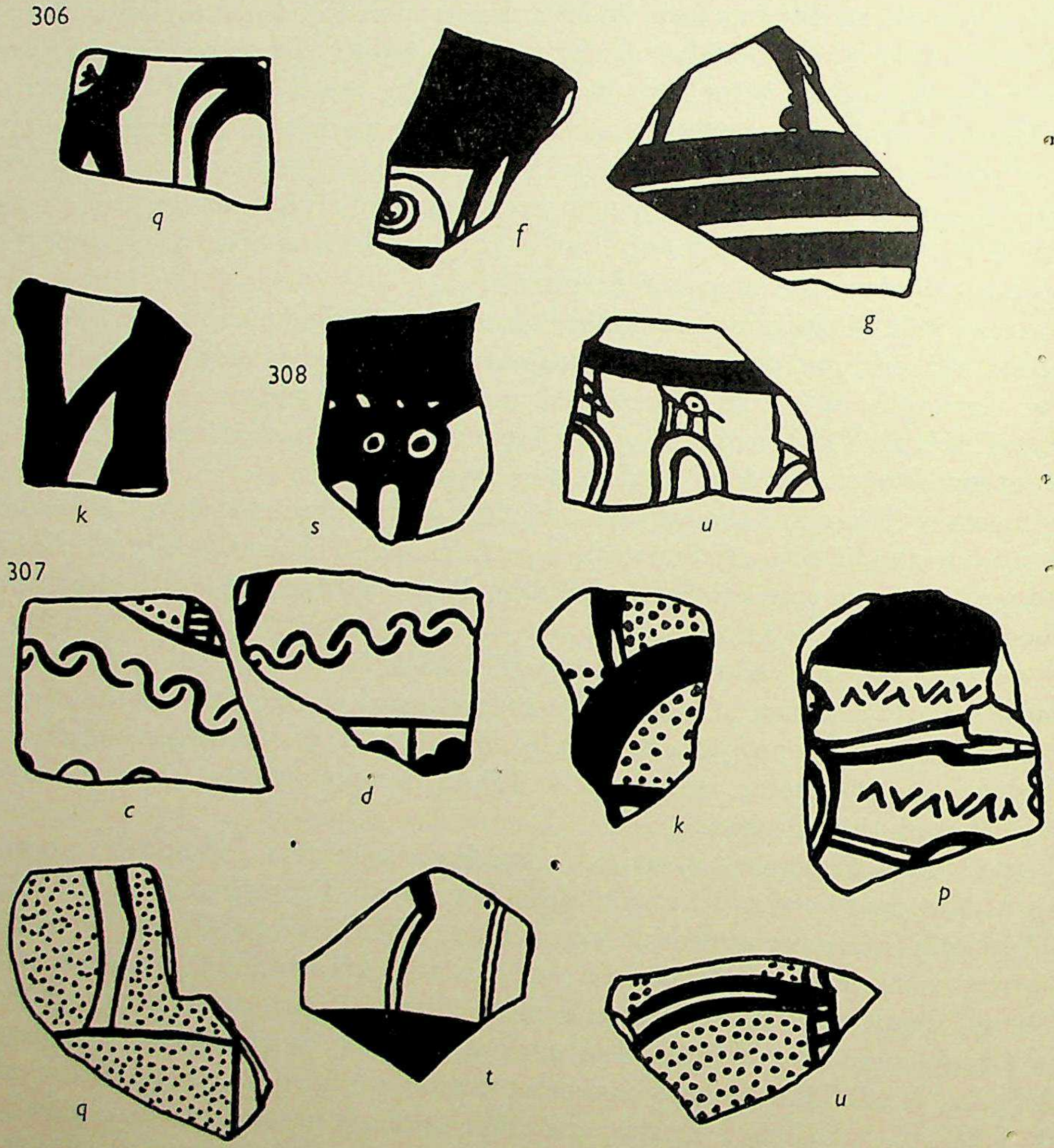

FIG. 29. Sherds from figured Myc. IIIB kraters, from Tell Abu Hawam.

PYXIS. One small pyxis, no. 283 (Pl. XVII, 3), was capable of restoration. There are also several unpublished fragments in the Palestine Museum.

JARS. Two large three-handled jars have been restored as of the typical Rhodian shape (*TAH*. p. 46, nos. 281, 282, with figs.). I think, however, that no. 281, in view of the decoration of the panels between the handles (edging of network, with a central chain of loops) was more probably of the Cypriot type (Fig. 8*i*, cf. Pl. XIII, 8). The sherd no. 306*w* (*TAH.* pl. XIX) is from a very similar jar, if not the same one. No. 282 may well be Rhodian. Small piriform jars seem very rare at this site, but there are two probable bases, one with a 'potter's mark',[1] among the unpublished sherds.

JUGS. There was one small globular jug, no. 230, decorated with stripes in the normal manner (Pl. XVII, 5).

STIRRUP-JARS. Most of the stirrup-jar fragments seem to be from globular types (e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*l*—possibly III A; pl. XX, no. 307*a*, ? *e*; pl. XXI, no. 308*m*, *o*, *p*; pl. XXII, no. 242). The shoulder patterns on these fragments include various forms of the Mycenaean flower motif, consonant with a III B date. One large fragment, however (*TAH.* p. 40, no. 241, with figs.), has a more elaborate design foreshadowing the 'elaborate triangle' of III C style. Such designs are found on Late Minoan III B stirrup-jars, and a Minoan origin for the present jar is also suggested by the continuous loop which encircles the base of the handles, false neck, and spout, and by the stripes on the body, which are all of medium width, grouped in threes, with no finer lines between them.[2] The sherds numbered 308*n*, *r* (*TAH.* pl. XXI) are from flat-topped stirrup-jars; and the latter shows an unusual zonal pattern just above the shoulder angle. The Cypriot Mycenaean type (Fig. 8*g*) is represented by one almost complete example (no. 277, *TAH.* p. 45, with fig.). Finally, there are several fragments from large stirrup-jars of coarse fabric (e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306? *a*, *b*, *c*; pl. XXII, no. 309*n*), a type fairly frequent at settlement sites in Greece though rare in tombs. Mention should also be made of a stirrup-jar of an odd angular shape, in plain fabric, clearly a local imitation (*TAH.* p. 39, no. 240, with fig.).

BOTTLE. The globular bottle, no. 284 (Pl. XVII, 7), differs from the usual types (F 190–2) in its rather large size (height about 14·5 cm.), which is emphasized by the proportionately short neck.

RHYTONS. There are several fragments of conical rhytons, e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*p*, *u*—the former of which may be III A; pl. XX, no. 307*m* (illustrated upside down); also a few from zoomorphic rhytons, e.g. *TAH.* pl. XIX, no. 306*i*. The sherd 307*w* (*TAH.* pl. XX) might perhaps be from the upper part of the same vessel. No. 306*e* (*TAH.* pl. XIX) is also in the form of an animal's snout (an eye painted on the side does not show in the illustration); but the nozzle is not pierced right through, so it cannot have been a rhyton properly speaking.

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[1] See Appendix B above.

[2] Cf. *MP.* p. 407 and fig. 71, motif 71; also pp. 178 f., 210.

The funnel no. 236 (Pl. XVII, 6) is, I believe, unique. In general form it is like a kylix with a hollow stem and no base. It had a handle, now lost, immediately below the rim.

Megiddo. The results of the excavations by the Chicago Oriental Institute of the important mound of Megiddo are at present only available for the upper strata. Imported Mycenaean sherds are, however, recorded as having been fairly plentiful in stratum VIII (dated by the excavators to the first half of the fourteenth century B.C.)[1] and would presumably be of the III A phase, though confirmation of this must await more specific description. In stratum VII (1350–1170 B.C.) there were still numerous Mycenaean sherds, though less than in the preceding stratum VIII, including a squat stirrup-jar.[2]

Pots of imported Mycenaean ware occurred also in the tombs excavated at Megiddo,[3] but were few in number. They include fragments of four small globular stirrup-jars (*Megiddo Tombs*, pls. 14. 7; 17. 9, 10; 34. 22); also two of the squat Cypriot shape (*op. cit.* pls. 35. 22; 62. 20, 21; 158. 5). With two exceptions these are decorated with simple stripes with no fine lines between, in the Cypriot manner; and the fabric of such as I have seen (Palestine Mus. 34. 1860, 1864, 1866) also suggests a Cypriot rather than a mainland Greek origin. There is also a tall ovoid stirrup-jar of coarse ware (*op. cit.* pl. 34. 21 and pl. 124. 13), like the fragments from Tell Abu Hawam mentioned above. Of other shapes there are the rim and shoulder of a pyxis (*op. cit.* pl. 32. 7) and a pilgrim flask of the standard type (Pl. XVII, 2). These all appear to be of the III B phase, the last-mentioned being probably the earliest.

Tell Ta'annek (*Taanach*). The excavator of Tell Ta'annek, a few miles south-east of Megiddo, illustrates several sherds[4] which look like Mycenaean (one may be the base of a pilgrim flask). The context of these finds is not clear from the publication, nor are they specifically identified as Mycenaean, though there is reference in the text[5] to the occurrence of sherds whose closest 'Analoga' are from Cyprus, Mycenae, and Egypt.

Beth Shan (*Beisan*). The Mycenaean III B pottery from this site includes a fragmentary stirrup-jar of globular shape (Palestine Mus. V. 1643),[6] decorated with simple stripes in a somewhat matt red paint (? Cypriot technique); another, of normal Myc. III fabric, of a low and very flat-topped form (Palestine Mus. V. 1616); and part of the handle of a third (Palestine Mus. 32. 305).[1] There is also a shoulder fragment from a large jar (Palestine Mus. 32. 303) probably of the tall-necked Cypriot variety (cf. Pl. XIII, 7, 8). I have not seen the bowl fragment in *Beth Shan* II, ii, pl. XLIII. 22; it may well be Mycenaean, though this shape is uncommon in the Levant.

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[1] G. M. Shipton, *Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of strata VI–XX* (Oriental Inst. of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 17), pp. 11, 50.

[2] Described as 'a true Mycenaean import' (*op. cit.* p. 9) to distinguish it from local wares with shapes or decoration derived from Mycenaean which occur in strata VII and VI. These derivative wares are outside the scope of the present study.

[3] Published in P. L. O. Guy and R. M. Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs.*

[4] E. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, pl. V. *h, l, o.*

[5] P. 90, para. 1 (*b*).

[6] Fitzgerald, *Beth Shan* II, ii, pl. XLIII. 10.

Tell Achari (*Tell Ashary*). In the Aleppo Museum is a group of Mycenaean pots from a tomb in an at present unexcavated cemetery at Tell Achari, which lies on a tributary of the River Yarmuk a little north of the Palestinian border, and between forty and fifty miles south of Damascus. They are:

PYXIDES. Four examples, all very simply decorated with stripes, with no pattern on the shoulder.

STIRRUP-JARS. Two, of squat form. One has a rounded profile (type F 180), and is painted with stripes with no fine lines between; the shoulder ornament is obscure, and the whole badly rubbed. The other has the angular Cypriot profile (type F 179), and is decorated with stripes and fine lines, but the lower half is left plain; on the shoulder, concentric arcs.

BOTTLE (type F 190). One, decorated with horizontal stripes and lines. The handles are somewhat clumsily formed.

FLASK. A lentoid flask in the same group, painted with concentric rings on the sides in a dirty black paint, is probably of local rather than imported ware.

Shechem. Sellin records 'spätmykenische Scherben' at this site in the fill of the latest part of the terrace of the temple precinct, and from them dates the temple to the thirteenth century B.C.[2] In a later report Welter, on the evidence of the same sherds, dates the palace and temple to the end of the fourteenth century.[3] The sherds are not published, but are presumably to be identified with some from this site now in the Palestine Museum. These are mostly of good buff clay, with glossy red paint, and were associated with Cypriot White Slip milk-bowls. The shapes represented include krater, pyxis, shallow bowl (probably the Cypriot type), lentoid flask, and possibly stirrup-jar and kylix. I would date them from late III A to III B.

Gezer. In Tomb 58 at this site were two pots of Mycenaean III B ware, together with local pottery of the late Bronze to early Iron Age, imitation Cypriot Base-ring ware, and Philistine pottery. One is a small globular jug, the other a small pyxis (R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, I, p. 322; pls. LXXXI. 9; LXXXII. 5).[1] The latter may perhaps, as Furumark says, be a local imitation of Mycenaean: I have not seen the pot itself.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pl. XLIII. 27.

[2] *Zeitschr. des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 49 (1926), pp. 315 f.

[3] *Op. cit.* 50 (1927), p. 268.

The other sherds recorded by Macalister include a piece from the shoulder of a three-handled jar (*op. cit.* I, p. 98, pl. XXVI. 21), several fragments from kraters in the Cypriot figured style (Fig. 30), a sherd from a globular stirrup-jar (Fig. 31 *a*), and two from the rims of kylikes (Fig. 31 *b*, *c*).

'*Ain Shems*. As already stated, the majority of the Mycenaean pottery from this site is of IIIA date, but a little, including the two figured krater sherds, may be IIIB.[2]

Tell es Safiyeh (? *Gath*). One of the Mycenaean sherds from this site comes from the shoulder of a flat-topped stirrup-jar,[3] a IIIB type (F 182 and 183).

Askalon. The following sherds from Askalon in the Palestine Museum are probably of the IIIB phase:

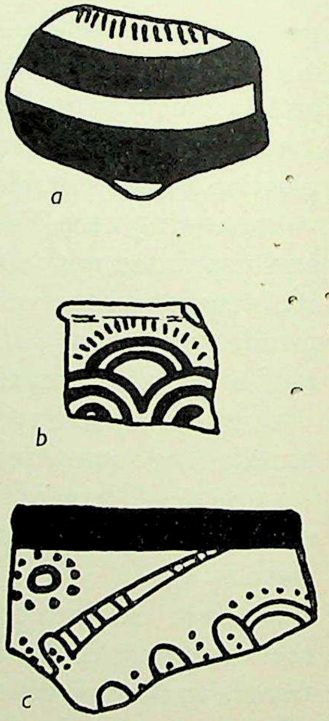

Fig. 31. Myc. IIIB sherds from Gezer.

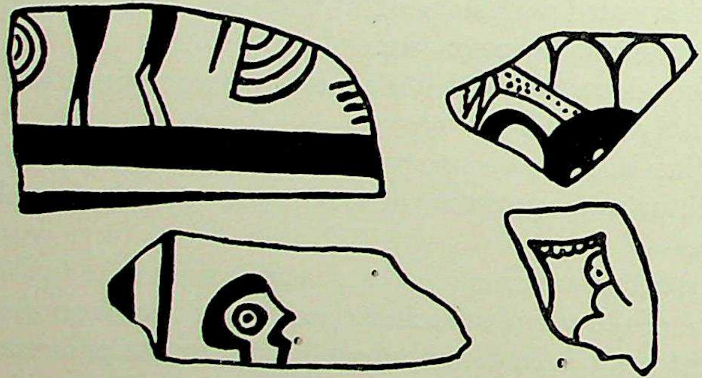

Fig. 30. Sherds from figured Myc. IIIB kraters, from Gezer.

Palestine Mus.:

No. P 1839. From a shallow bowl of Cypriot type (as Fig. 8 *d*), with pattern in white superimposed on red stripes inside (*PEFQS*. 1923, pl. IV. 3, cf. 10).

No. P 2026. Base of a bowl or cup with concentric rings underneath.

No. P 1829. Rim of a kylix with stemmed spiral derived from the 'argonaut' motif (*op. cit.* pl. III. 2).

The sherd P 1979 (*op. cit.* pl. III. 4) with a big octopus design in red paint is perhaps a local imitation of Mycenaean ware. The following sherds which I have not seen may also belong to IIIB:

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[1] Cf. *CMP*. p. 68.

[2] Cf. p. 64 above.

[3] Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 87, fig. 34 bottom left.

Op. cit. pl. III. 1. Perhaps from a figured krater of the Cypriot type, as that in pl. IV. 11.

Op. cit. pl. III. 15. Kylix base.

The pyxis shape is also said to be represented at this site. It is curious that there do not appear to be any stirrup-jar sherds.[1]

Lachish. From structure 3 of the Fosse Temple comes a kylix (Fig. 32) decorated with an oblique murex motif. Among the smaller III B sherds are part of a shallow bowl of the Cypriot type with patterns in white superimposed on the red stripes inside (Tufnell, Inge and Harding, *Lachish II*, pl. LXIII. 1); a piece from the shoulder of a stirrup-jar (*ibid.* 2); the handle of a pyxis (*ibid.* 5); and a base, perhaps from a stirrup-jar or small piriform jar (*ibid.* 4), with a 'potter's mark' on the underneath.[2]

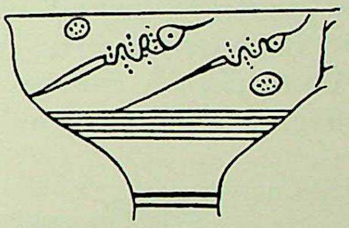

FIG. 32. Myc. III B kylix (fragment) from Lachish.

Tell el Hesy. Petrie published a few Mycenaean sherds from this site (*Tell el Hesy*, pl. VIII. 163–8, 181).[3] The shapes represented include the pyxis and pilgrim flask. There are also fragments of bull figurines. I have not traced the actual sherds, and it is perhaps unsafe to say more than that they are of III A–III B date. Some of them are recorded (not without due surprise)[4] as having been found in a seventh-century context!

Tell Ajjul. It has already been mentioned (see p. 67) that the top burial layer in the 'Governor's Tomb' at Tell Ajjul contained four small stirrup-jars. One of these (Palestine Mus. 33. 1502) is of good Mycenaean III B type: it is of globular form, decorated with stripes and lines round the body, stylized flower motif on the shoulder, and concentric rings under the base.[5] The others are perhaps local imitations:[6] one which I have seen (Palestine Mus. 33. 1504) is certainly much inferior in fabric.

Also of III B type are two flat-topped stirrup-jars illustrated by Petrie, one of the squat, one of the high variety (*Ancient Gaza*, II, pl. XXXIV, 64 R 5, 8). The fragments of a necked krater with chariot scenes (Fig. 33) may be III A or III B.

Gerar. Petrie illustrates in *Gerar*, pl. LXII (fourth row from bottom, at left), what looks like a fragment from a shallow bowl of the Cypriot Mycenaean type. Plates LXIII and LXIV of the same publication are also quoted by Sjöqvist[7] for examples of 'Levanto-Helladic' ware, but as far as I can judge from the drawings pl. LXIII. 29 is the only piece properly so described. The others look like later imitations of Mycenaean, though Furumark[1] would allow also pl. LXII. 7.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 70.

[2] See Appendix B.

[3] Cf. *AA.* (1908), p. 19 and fig. 10 on p. 18.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 46.

[5] Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, III, pl. X, 'top', top row, second from left.

[6] Cf. *CMP.* p. 69.

[7] *Problems*, p. 95.

Tell Far'a. Several Mycenaean pots are recorded from tombs at this site, viz.

Tomb 922: a pilgrim flask (Starkey and Harding, *Beth Pelet Cemetery*, p. 23)

Tomb 939 (XIXth–XXth dynasties): a stirrup-jar (*op. cit.* pl. xlix)

Tomb 905: a stirrup-jar, squat, with rather angular profile, perhaps a Cypriot product (*op. cit.* pl. lxxxvii, 64R^5)

Tomb 936: a stirrup-jar (*ibid.* 64R^6)

I have not seen these pots, and they are not described in detail; but to judge from the published drawings they are probably of the IIIB phase.

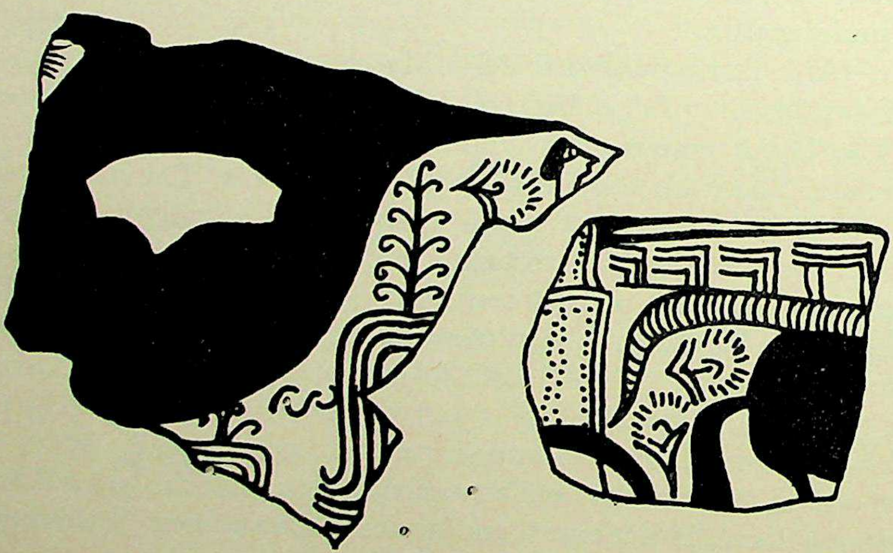

FIG. 33. Sherd of figured Myc. IIIB krater from Tell Ajjul.

Uncertain provenance. A globular stirrup-jar in Toronto (*Toronto Cat.* no. 108), with cross-hatched circles on the shoulder, is of IIIB style. It comes from 'a tomb in Palestine'.

Addenda. Sjöqvist mentions[2] unpublished Levanto-Helladic pots, now in the Beirut Museum, from Khirbet Selim (south-east of Beirut) and from Aktanit (near Saida). These I have not seen: nor can I accurately locate the sites. One would expect the pottery to be comparable to the finds from Gharifeh and Sarepta in the same region.

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[1] *MP.* p. 653 *s.v.* Tell Jemmeh.

[2] *Problems*, p. 95.

Close examination of the IIIB material from Syria and Palestine in general points to a Cypriot origin. This is particularly remarkable at Ras Shamra, where we have a considerable corpus of pots to work on. The Mycenaean pottery of Cyprus is recalled both in shapes and decoration, and by the absence or rarity of types—kylikes and bowls especially—which are rare in Cyprus also. The only pots showing positively non-Cypriot characteristics are two side-spouted jars[1] and an unusual kylix with straight sides, a type which occurs otherwise only at Tell Abu Hawam. It is not impossible that some of the pots which show no features of identifiably regional peculiarity come from farther afield—Rhodes or the Greek mainland—but it is clear enough that nearly all come from Cyprus, the source also of numerous imports of non-Mycenaean wares. There seems no reason to assume any local manufacture of Mycenaean pottery in Ugarit itself.

At Tell Abu Hawam, too, the Cypriot origin of some of the Mycenaean finds is apparent—notably the chariot-scene kraters and the shallow bowls of Cypriot type. There are, however, very few examples of the squat Cypriot variety of stirrup-jar; and the numerous kylix fragments point rather to Rhodes or mainland Greece: the sherds of Zygouries style suggest the latter. The peculiar deep kylikes (Pl. XVII, 8) are persuasive evidence for a local manufacture of Mycenaean ware[2]—which would account also for the unique funnel (Pl. XVII, 6).

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[1] On these, see Appendix B, pp. 48 and 52.

[2] Since this went to press Mr R. A. Higgins of the British Museum has kindly drawn my attention to another kylix of this rare type, the property of Mrs Maitland Sikes, recently placed on loan in the Museum. It comes from Cyprus, and besides horizontal lines and stripes has a pattern of bull's heads like Pl. XII, 2—a Cypriot pattern. The examples from Tell Abu Hawam and Ras Shamra may therefore also be Cypriot.

APPENDIX C

MYCENAEAN POTTERY IN CILICIA

In view of the proximity of Cilicia to Syria, and the fact that the two areas are linked in certain Greek traditions[1] referring to a remote period, probably before the Trojan war, this seems an appropriate place to notice what evidence there is in the form of pottery for Mycenaean intercourse with Cilicia. It may as well be stated at once, however, that the evidence is scanty, and that its significance is not likely to be fully understood until it has been supplemented by further excavations in the area.

In a surface survey[2] E. Gjerstad collected from sites distributed along the coast and in the plain of Cilicia a number of samples of a ware which he named Hellado-Cilician. This is apparently a local imitation of Mycenaean ware, and the shapes include bowls with splaying rim, stirrup-jars, kylikes, piriform amphorae, deep bowls and kraters.[3] The exact date of this ware is uncertain, but it indicates that Mycenaean pottery must at some stage have been familiar in the area. True Mycenaean ware was found by Gjerstad only at Kazanli, in the Aleian plain.[4] The sherds he illustrates include fragments of cups or kylikes, with a hooked spiral pattern, and kylix stems: they might be Myc. III A or III B.

To these finds may be added a few from excavations at Tarsus and Mersin—both in the same part of Cilicia.

The sherds from Tarsus discussed by J. F. Daniel in a preliminary report of the excavations[5] are all clearly of Myc. III C date, though it is questionable whether any of them are strictly speaking of the 'Close Style', as there stated. Daniel considers on grounds of technique that they must be imported from the Argolid. The bowl shape is stated to be predominant, the jug and amphoriskos less common; there was one stirrup-jar; no kylikes. A further notice of the excavations[6] refers to more sherds of the same kind, together with a few 'of earlier L.H. III type', and some crude local imitations of Mycenaean ware.

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[1] See especially Strabo, 673, 750.

[2] See *Rev. Arch.* (1934), pp. 155 ff.; with map, fig. 19 (p. 202).

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 174–5.

[4] See *op. cit.* pp. 176–7 and pp. 178 ff., with figs. 6 (p. 168) and 18 (p. 190). This area, as Gjerstad observes (*op. cit.* p. 201), is connected with the Bellerophon legend in *Iliad*, VI, 145–211, which refers to a period before the Trojan war.

[5] *AJA.* XLI, pp. 281–3, with figs. 38, 41, 42.

[6] *AJA.* XLIV, p. 76.

From Mersin[1] come two pieces of genuine Mycenaean ware, found in level V, which is associated by the excavators with the Hittite imperial period. One is from the neck and shoulder of a small jug; the other from the lip of a tankard. I would date both to Myc. IIIA2 or early Myc. IIIB. From a later level, separated from the last by a destruction layer which the excavators date to *c.* 1200 B.C., comes a third Mycenaean sherd, a small piece of a stirrup-jar (?) with which were found sherds of a local ware imitating Mycenaean, apparently to be equated with Gjerstad's Hellado-Cilician. This local ware is stated[2] to resemble 'the latest Mycenaean style'; but as far as I can judge from the published illustrations it seems more likely to be an imitation of an earlier phase of Mycenaean (perhaps IIIB). If this is so, the destruction layer has probably been dated too late; and in any case the one genuine Mycenaean piece found above the destruction level does not look so late as the twelfth century B.C. (Myc. III C). Besides, Myc. III C was known in the area (witness the sherds from Tarsus), and one would therefore expect any local imitation to resemble it more closely than does this Hellado-Cilician ware.

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[1] *Liv. Ann.* XXVI, pp. 98 ff. and pl. LXXXI.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 100.

CHAPTER VI

MYCENAEAN III POTTERY IN EGYPT

THE Myc. III finds from Egypt have been studied by Pendlebury,[1] and few of the pieces referred to below have not been mentioned by him. The present lists, however, give rather more detailed information about most of the pots, and endeavour to separate Myc. IIIA from IIIB, which was hardly possible when Pendlebury wrote. Even now that we have a satisfactory scheme for the subdivision of Myc. III it is not always easy to assign the finds from Egypt to their proper group: it has often happened that finds from one excavation have been scattered among several museums, making them difficult to trace and to identify with published descriptions and illustrations; and the publications are not sufficient guide by themselves. Many of the finds are of isolated single pots, which are of course harder to date than groups; and even where the context is known the dating is not always so certain as seems to be suggested by some of the excavation reports. Scarabs and similar inscribed objects, as has often been remarked, may be older than the objects with which they are found.[2]

In the following sections the finds are listed under the sites from which they come, the more important sites under each heading being placed first, the remainder in alphabetical order. For the location of sites see the map, Fig. 34.

1. MYCENAEAN IIIA

Tell el Amarna. The importance of this site to the student of Aegean prehistory is well known. Founded in the sixth year of King Akhnaton, the city was deserted on his death, so that the pottery found among the houses and waste-heaps of the site can all be dated to a period of some fifteen years, thus providing the surest piece of chronological evidence in the whole history of Mycenaean pottery. Stylistically the finds belong to the later part of Furumark's IIIA2 phase.[3] Petrie recovered from the site some 1350 sherds, representing perhaps 800 pots, but no complete specimens. The principal pot-types are as follows:[4]

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[1] *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 111 ff., and *JEA*. XVI (1930), p. 87.

[2] Cf. *CMP*. p. 113.

[3] Cf. *CMP*. p. 113.

[4] Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pp. 16 f. and pls. XXVI–XXX. Representative sherds are in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 990–9); others in the Cairo Museum and elsewhere. Subsequent excavations added a few more sherds, but no new types. Cf. H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II, p. 110 and pl. XL. 5 and pl. XLV.

NECKED KRATER (F53). Four sherds in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 993, where parallels from Cyprus are quoted; cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna,* pl. XXVII. 26–9). They have designs in white superimposed on a broad band of red—a decorative fashion which, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] was especially common in Rhodes and Cyprus.

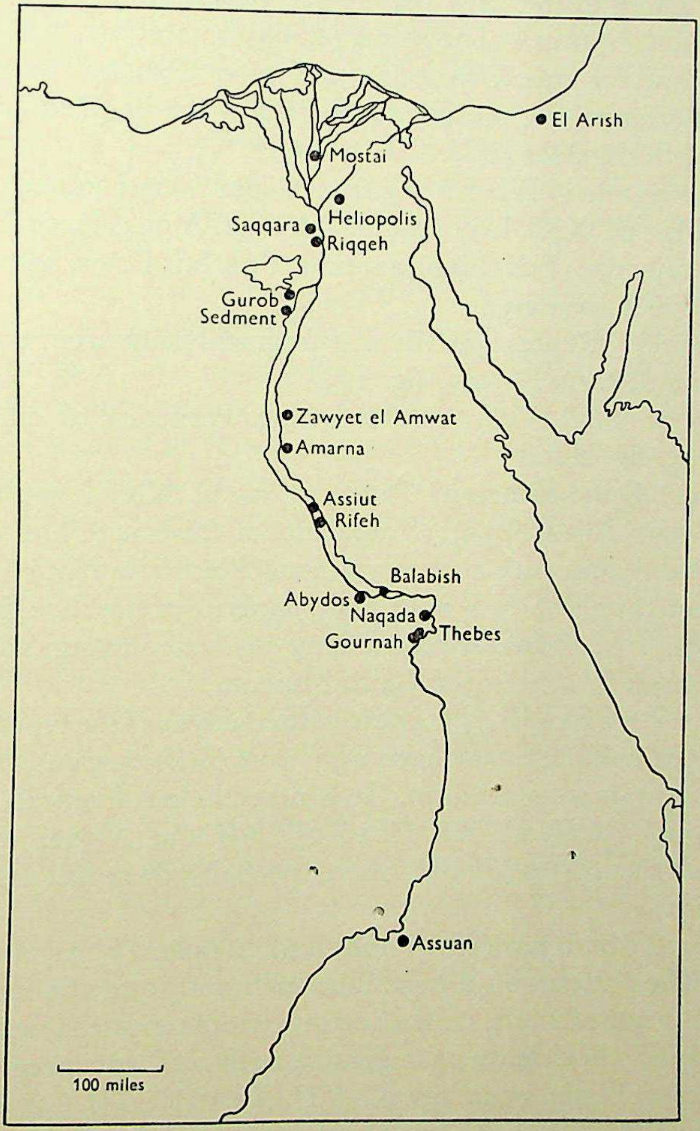
El Arish
Mostai
Heliopolis
Saqqara
Riqqeh
Gurob
Sedment
Zawyet el Amwat
Amarna
Assiut
Rifeh
Balabish
Abydos
Naqada
Thebes
Gournah
Assuan
100 miles

FIG. 34. Distribution of Myc. III pottery in Egypt.

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[1] *BSA.* XLII, pp. 12 f.

BOWLS. A shallow handleless bowl, with three grooves below the rim, has been restored from a fragment. It is painted all over outside in red; inside are four plain bands in the same paint—decoration similar to that on certain shallow cups from Cyprus.[1] The shape (F 208) is rare: an example is known from Rhodes,[2] and Furumark says it is also found at Berbati.[3] Other fragments, from the 1923 excavations, possibly come from a one-handled bowl of a type (F 283) familiar in Rhodes (*BM. Cat.* A 996).[4]

CUPS. A fair number of sherds are from shallow one-handled cups (F 220), e.g. Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. XXVI. 11–15; cf. *BM. Cat.* A 994. According to Furumark[5] a deep cup-type (F 221) is also represented, but I have not observed any among the sherds I have seen.

KYLIX (F 257?). Represented by one fragment only, from the junction of bowl and stem: *BM. Cat.* A 995, fig. 263.

ALABASTRON (F 85). Very few sherds: e.g. Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. XXVI. 20; *BM. Cat.* A 991, fig. 260.

PYXIS (F 94). Quite common. Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. XXVI. 1–10.

PIRIFORM AMPHORA (F 35). Fragments of this shape are few, and it is difficult to identify any with certainty among Petrie's published illustrations, but I have noted one or two, with scale-pattern on the shoulder (like *BM. Cat.* A 837, fig. 197, from Ialysos) among his water-colour sketches of the Amarna Mycenaean,[6] and in the Cairo Museum.

SMALL PIRIFORM JAR (F 45). Petrie in his analysis of the types represented[7] states that about half the total sherds were from piriform vases, but he is there classing all stirrup-jars as piriform. It is nevertheless a very frequent shape. Examples: Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. XXVI. 16–25; *BM. Cat.* A 992, fig. 261.

NARROW-NECKED JUG (F 118). Sherds probably from this shape, *BM. Cat.* A 997, fig. 267.

STIRRUP-JARS: both piriform (F 166) and globular (F 171) are numerously represented. The patterns on the shoulder are mostly quite linear in character, and a fair proportion of sherds show a narrow zone of repeated linear motif below the shoulder level. Both features indicate a fairly well advanced stage of L.H. III A.[8] Examples: Petrie, *op. cit.* pls. XXVII, XXVIII; *BM. Cat.* A 999, fig. 269.

PILGRIM FLASK (F 189). This was perhaps the commonest type, represented according to Petrie's figures[9] by some 569 sherds out of a total of 1341. Examples: Petrie, *op. cit.* pls. XXIX, XXX, 78–143; *BM. Cat.* A 998, fig. 268.

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[1] E.g. Fig. 8*a*, *b*.

[2] *CVA. Copenhagen 2*, pl. 56. 4.

[3] *MP.* p. 619. His example from Enkomi seems to me doubtful.

[4] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, p. 35.

[5] *CMP.* p. 57.

[6] In the library of the British School at Athens (class mark R 427).

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 16.

[8] Cf. *BSA.* XLII, pp. 15–20.

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 16.

The following are also perhaps of late IIIA date:

Abydos. (*a*) The spout of a stirrup-jar, from an XVIIIth dynasty context.[1] It might come from a IIIA piriform type, though this must be guesswork. (Perhaps to be identified with Ashmolean Museum no. E 2443.)

(*b*) (From the locality El Ga'adra or Gadra.) A squat stirrup-jar (type F 180) in the Cairo Museum (no. 26129), decorated with stripes and lines, rings on the base, and groups of concentric arcs on the shoulder.

Gournah. A globular stirrup-jar (type F 176) in the Cairo Museum (no. 26131), decorated like the last, except for the base, which bears a 'potter's mark' (see Appendix B, p. 49).

A bottle (type F 190) from the same site, now in the Ashmolean Museum (1933. 470), belongs either to the end of IIIA or to early IIIB.

Heliopolis. A squat flat-topped stirrup-jar (type F 181) in the Cairo Museum (no. 59174) decorated like that from Gadra.

Thebes. A flat-topped stirrup-jar (type F 180) with a zone of U-shaped hooks between the stripes below the handles; found in the tomb of a grandson of Pinetchem I, dated *c*. 1000 B.C.[2] By its style, however, the pot must belong to the end of the IIIA phase.

The sherds of stirrup-jars recorded to have been found in the palace of Amenhotep III (1412–1376 B.C.) at Thebes[3] would presumably be Myc. IIIA, but details are not available.

Zawyet el Amwat (near Minieh, Middle Egypt). A pilgrim flask, of buff clay decorated in red with the usual concentric circles, and a column of horizontal strokes below each handle.

Unknown provenance. In the Toronto Museum are a number of Mycenaean pots, almost all from tombs at various unrecorded sites in Upper Egypt. Most of them seem of the IIIB phase, but I would assign to IIIA two pilgrim flasks (*Toronto Cat*. nos. 84 and 85, pl. VI: the former from the Fayum), one globular stirrup-jar (*ibid*. 95, pl. VII), and possibly two others (*ibid*. nos. 96 and 97, pl. VII).

2. MYCENAEAN IIIA-B

A number of sites in Egypt have produced Myc. III pottery belonging to the end of the IIIA phase and the beginning of IIIB, much of which can only be classified as 'transitional IIIA–B'. The most important of such sites is Gurob, but a number of much smaller find-groups are of a similar character: of, say, three pots, one may be III A, one III B, and one doubtful. To avoid inconvenient and unduly artificial subdivision it has seemed best therefore to treat the III A and III B pottery from these sites together. The few sites represented mainly or solely by III B pieces will be dealt with later under that heading.

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[1] E. R. Ayrton, C. T. Currelly and A. E. P. Weigall, *Abydos* III, pl. LVIII. 11.

[2] H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 62 and fig. 28. The pot is in the British Museum, Egyptian Dept. 22, 821.

[3] *AA*. XIV (1899), p. 57.

El Arish. In the Ashmolean Museum (no. AE 305) is a fragment from the shoulder of a globular stirrup-jar reported to come from El Arish. It is decorated with the usual stripes and lines, and groups of chevrons on the shoulder, all in an orange paint on a slightly greenish buff clay.

Gurob (*Medinet el-Ghurab, Fayum*). The Myc. III pots from this site, mostly from tombs, are almost all stirrup-jars of various types. The following are classified by Furumark as of the latter part of III A:

(1) Globular stirrup-jar, from a tomb of the time of Seti I (1320–1300 B.C.). The shoulder is undecorated, and there is a slightly raised point on the disk of the false neck. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, Hawara*, pl. XXVIII. 1 and p. 42; *BM. Cat.* A 987, fig. 256; *MP.* p. 612, type 171:35.

(2) Similar shape to last, but with linear floral ornament on the shoulder. From a house dated *c.* 1300 B.C. Petrie, *loc. cit.* no. 7 and p. 42; *BM. Cat.* A 986, fig. 255; *MP.* p. 612, type 171:36.

(3) Squat stirrup-jar, from a group dated to the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. XX. 7 and p. 19; *BM. Cat.* A 988, fig. 257; *MP.* p. 614, type 178:12; *CMP.* pp. 57, 114.

Also probably of III A date is a conical rhyton decorated with a 'palm' motif. It is figured in Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. XIX. 37, but I can find no reference in the text. It is now in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 981, fig. 250).

More definitely of the III B phase is a group of five globular stirrup-jars from a tomb dated by Petrie to the time of Amenhotep III.[1] The one he illustrates is decorated only with broad stripes round the body, without the usual fine lines between, and the shoulder is almost plain. Of two now in the British Museum (*BM. Cat.* A 984 and 985, figs. 253 and 254) one has a plain shoulder, a feature peculiarly common, as we have seen, on III B stirrup-jars from Cyprus. The other three are in the Ashmolean Museum, viz.:

892. 1890. Height *c.* 0·14 m. Clay and paint blackened by fire. Decorated with broad and narrow horizontal stripes, and groups of concentric arcs on the shoulder.

893. 1890. Similar to last. Clay buff, paint a good red, but partly blackened by fire. Decoration similar to last, very neatly executed; concentric rings underneath the base.

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[1] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, p. 16 and pl. XVII. 3.

897. 1889. Similar, but of coarser fabric, with purple-brown paint; perhaps rather an imitation of Mycenaean.[1]

In the same museum, 'from the Fayum'—and therefore probably from Gurob—is another globular stirrup-jar:

AE 319. Height *c.* 0·16 m. Clay buff, paint red. Decorated with the usual broad and narrow horizontal stripes; shoulder plain, concentric rings underneath the base.

Also in the Ashmolean Museum (1063. 1889) is a fragment of a stirrup-jar of depressed (but not angular) form, found in a tomb at Gurob.

Three further stirrup-jars from Gurob in the Ashmolean are of interest for the pot-marks on their bases, which as suggested in Appendix B *may* imply a Cypriot origin:

E 2452. Shallow, flat-topped variety. Height *c.* 0·12 m. Clay buff, paint chestnut to dark brown. Decorated with horizontal stripes and lines, and on the shoulder a pattern like Furumark's motif 18:136.[2] (Pl. XVIII, 4.)

E 2453. Slightly depressed globular shape. Height *c.* 0·16 m. Clay pale buff, paint from chestnut to black. Decorated with horizontal stripes and lines; shoulder plain except for a loop enclosing spout and false neck. (Pl. XVIII, 3.)

1921. 1321. Deep flat-topped variety. Height *c.* 0·13 m. Clay buff, paint a good red. Decorated with horizontal stripes and lines; on the shoulder, groups of concentric arcs, and a loop enclosing spout and false neck. (Pl. XVIII, 5.)

These three pots, like the preceding ones, are probably of III B date.

Of the stirrup-jars from tombs excavated at Gurob by Brunton and Engelbach[3] none seems clearly of the III A phase. The shoulder-fragment illustrated in Fig. 35 I would class as III B, on the score of its decoration; also, perhaps, another from the same excavation[4] which has a linear scale pattern covering the whole shoulder-zone. Other small examples[5] come from contexts of Ramesside date, and are thus more certainly III B. Of the flat-topped types of stirrup-jar, which are of III B date, the low variety (F 183) is represented by one ill-preserved specimen, the decoration of which is lost,[6] and by one in the British Museum[7] with a plain shoulder; the rather taller variety (F 182) by one found with a scarab of Ramses II[8] and dated by Furumark[9] to III B.

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[1] The identification of this pot as one of the five found by Petrie is not quite certain.

[2] *MP.* fig. 45.

[3] G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, *Gurob*, pl. XXVIII. 17 and p. 15.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. XXIX. 15.

[5] *Ibid.* pls. XXX. 97*b* and LIII.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. XXVII. 10.

[7] *BM. Cat.* A 989, fig. 258.

[8] Brunton and Engelbach, *op. cit.* pl. XXIX. 39 and p. 16.

[9] *MP.* p. 615, type 182. 22.

Finally, there is a fragment of another stirrup-jar in the British Museum[1] with so unusual a design (Fig. 36) that it cannot be securely dated on stylistic grounds: probably it is III B.

Rifeh. Only three Myc. III pots are recorded from this excavation. They are:

(1) From Grave 20, of the XVIIIth dynasty, a small jug[2] (Pl. XVIII, 1) decorated with horizontal stripes and lines in good red paint on buff clay. The shape is unusual, but perhaps simply represents a miniature version of the large beaked jug types such as F 144. In such miniatures the base, etc., tend to assume disproportionate prominence. On general grounds we may perhaps date this piece to the III A phase. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, no. 1909. 130.

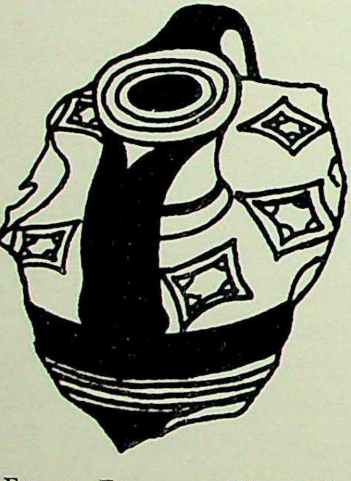

Fig. 35. Fragment of Myc. III stirrup-jar from Gurob.

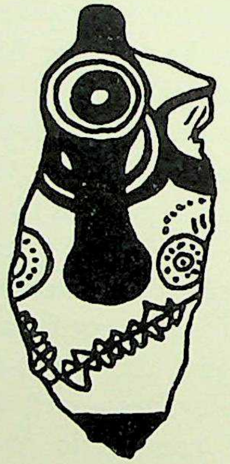

Fig. 36. Fragment of Myc. III stirrup-jar from Gurob.

(2) From the 'Tomb of Pasar', a III B stirrup-jar of a low type with sloping shoulder[3] (F 179). The type is characteristic of the Mycenaean ware of Cyprus, cf. Fig. 8*g* above.

(3) A globular stirrup-jar (type F 171).[4] There is a floral ornament on the shoulder, of a III B type (cf. *MP*. p. 293, fig. 45, motif 18: 133) and a zone of small lozenges round the body, in addition to the usual striped decoration. There was a pot-mark on the base, now badly defaced; see Appendix B. (Ashmolean Museum, no. 1909. 129.)

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[1] *BM. Cat.* A 983, fig. 252.

[2] W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 23 and pl. XXVII.

[3] *Ibid.* pl. XXIII. 42.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. XXIII. 55.

Riqqeh. From this site come the following:

(1) A flat-topped piriform stirrup-jar (height *c.* 0·17 m.), from a disturbed grave.[1] The shape suggests the IIIA phase; the pattern on the shoulder—several lozenges divided by a cross—suggests IIIB (cf. *MP.* p. 411, fig. 71, motif 73:*b*). (Ashmolean Museum, no. 1913. 493.)

(2) A globular stirrup-jar,[2] the body decorated with a few broad stripes only, the shoulder with scattered dots (Fig. 37). The disk of the false neck is slightly raised in the centre, which with the general simplicity of decoration suggests a date well into IIIB. This piece is probably as late as any Mycenaean pot found in Egypt.

(3) Fragments of a stirrup-jar and a pilgrim flask, both IIIA–B.[3]

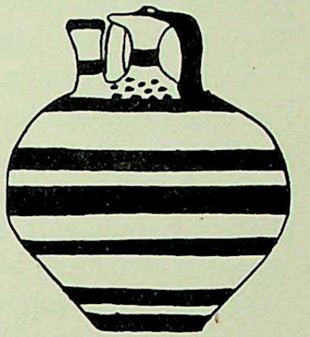

FIG. 37. Myc. III stirrup-jar from Riqqeh.

Sedment. A small globular jug,[4] (Pl. XVIII, 2) height *c.* 0·12 m., painted in red on buff clay with horizontal stripes and lines, was found in Tomb 263, which Petrie dates 'not after Tehutmes III' (1479–1447 B.C.); but the jug is certainly later than that, and can hardly be dated before the middle of the IIIA phase. (Now in the Ashmolean Museum, no. 1921. 1436.)

Another group[5] includes a large stirrup-jar of oval form, with a broad wavy stripe round the body; and the upper part of another of similar shape, with horizontal stripes and lines. I should hesitate to assign a date to these; the complete specimen (Ashmolean Museum, no. 1921. 1437) is of a coarse fabric with no clear criteria of style.

Another stirrup-jar, of the taller flat-topped variety (F 182) is referred to the XIXth dynasty.[6] This seems to be the same pot as Ashmolean Museum, no. 1921. 1303. The shape belongs to the IIIB phase; so does the fashion of leaving the shoulder undecorated. There is a similar pot from the same site in the Cairo Museum, no. 47011.

3. MYCENAEAN IIIB

Abydos. Two pots in the Ashmolean Museum, both apparently of IIIB date, are ascribed to this site:

AE 315. Globular stirrup-jar. Clay buff, decorated in red with broad and narrow horizontal stripes; on the shoulder, a loop enclosing spout and false neck, and a series of radiating dashes.

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[1] R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis*, p. 17, pls. XVI. 9 and XXII. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. XXII. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* pl. XXII. 4–5, and p. 19.

[4] W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl. XLVIII. 53, pl. LIX. 6, and p. 26.

[5] *Op. cit.* pl. LIX. 3–5, and p. 25.

[6] *Op. cit.* pl. LXV. 97*c*, and p. 31.

AE 318. Squat stirrup-jar, rather of the Cypriot shape illustrated in Fig. 8*g* above. Clay whitish; decorated with stripes in brown-black paint; on the shoulder a loop enclosing spout and false neck, and a series of narrow 'ladders' radiating from the false neck.

On both of these the shoulder pattern suggests a III B date.

Balabish. A group of Myc. III pots from the New Kingdom cemetery at Balabish are published by G. A. Wainwright, *Balabish*, pp. 61 ff. and pl. XXV. They are the following (*loc. cit.*):

No. 82. Pilgrim flask, flat type. Decorated with dull (not glossy) red paint, for which reason the excavator suggests it may be an 'Egyptian imitation of the foreign type'.

No. 83. Pilgrim flask, globular type (F 188), but with no base-ring, and slightly bareliform; decorated with the usual concentric rings and a simple repeated ornament below the handles, in lustrous black-red paint.

No. 84. Flat-topped stirrup-jar, low variety (F 181). The neck is disproportionately large. Painted with stripes and lines in lustrous red-black paint. Cairo Museum, no. 47084.

No. 85. Similar shape to last, but with stripes only, and of a duller red paint. Concentric rings on the base.

No. 86. Globular stirrup-jar of similar decoration to the last, but without the rings on the base.

No. 87. Similar to no. 86, but of a different clay. Wainwright suggests it may be an Egyptian imitation.

All the four stirrup-jars have the shoulder left plain, as is frequent in Cypriot examples of III B date. The fabric points in the same direction: nos. 83 and 84 have the normal glossy Mycenaean paint, but on nos. 85–7 the paint is duller; no. 83 is of a hard clay, but the rest are softer and more porous.[1] These characteristics are frequently found in the 'Levanto-Helladic' ware of Cyprus.[2]

Several isolated finds now in the Cairo Museum appear also to be of III B date:

Assiut. A globular stirrup-jar (type F 178). The shoulder is plain, but for a loop encircling the base of spout and false neck. Cairo Museum, no. 46224. Another similar stirrup-jar 'possibly from Assiut' (temporary no. 15. 1/5. 18) has a series of quirks painted on the shoulder, and a rather broad reserved band between the body-stripes, at the widest part.

Mostai (in the Delta, Minufiyeh province). A globular stirrup-jar (type F 178) from a XXth dynasty cemetery. Shoulder plain, with a loop round spout and false neck, as on the Assiut piece. Cairo Museum, no. 43735.

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[1] G. A. Wainwright, *op. cit.* pp. 65–6.

[2] Cf. Sjöqvist, *Problems*, pp. 65 f., and above, pp. 37 ff.

Saqqara. A globular stirrup-jar (type F 178), like the last. Cairo Museum, no. 63321. Also a bottle (type 192) with the normal decoration of horizontal stripes and lines. Cairo Museum, no. 46134.

Unknown provenance. I would date to IIIB several pots in the Toronto Museum, stated to be from tombs in Upper Egypt. They are: a bottle (*Toronto Cat.* 86, pl. VI), two globular stirrup-jars (*ibid.* 94, 98, pl. VII), and a flat-topped stirrup-jar with plain shoulder (*ibid.* 102, pl. VII). Also of unrecorded provenance is a flat-topped stirrup-jar in Cairo (Cairo Museum, no. 26128)[1] which has a 'potter's mark' on the base (see Appendix B, p. 49).

To these may be added several more, in the Ashmolean Museum:

AE 317. Stirrup-jar, of very much flattened shape (height *c.* 0·08 m., diameter *c.* 0·15 m.), with a third handle, at right angles to the usual stirrup handle. Clay buff, decorated in red to dark brown paint with horizontal stripes and lines, and a scale pattern on the shoulder.

1942. 15. (Edith Guest collection.) Stirrup-jar of depressed shape. Clay buff, decorated in brown with horizontal stripes and lines. Shoulder plain except for a loop enclosing spout and false neck.

E 2463. 'From an XVIIIth dynasty rock tomb.' Globular stirrup-jar, height *c.* 0·12 m. Rather coarse darkish clay, decorated in purplish paint with a few broad stripes round the body; shoulder plain except for a loop enclosing spout and false neck. This seems from the fabric to be a local imitation of Mycenaean ware.

There are probably a few other single pots in museums and private collections which could be added to this list; but it is doubtful whether they would do much to enlarge or modify the general picture of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt.

It will be convenient also to mention here two pots about which insufficient evidence is available to decide to what phase they belong.

Naqada (*Negade*). A globular stirrup-jar which 'by its early type might well have belonged to a burial of the Thothmes III period', according to the excavator.[2] Its present whereabouts is unrecorded.[3]

Assiut. A stirrup-jar, context unknown, in the Elephantine Museum.[4]

It has already been shown that the importation of Mycenaean pottery to Egypt began in the Myc. II period. In Myc. IIIA the finds indicate that this trade increased. Most of the evidence comes from Tell el Amarna, where, though the city was inhabited for only a few years, the bulk of pottery represented by the fragments far outweighs all the finds from other sites widely distributed through the rest of Egypt (cf. map in Fig. 34). With the exception of this site the amount of Mycenaean trade to Egypt does not appear much greater than in the preceding period, and the finds are so far limited to isolated single pieces, that any consideration of the origin and affinities of Myc. IIIA imports in Egypt must centre on the Amarna material. The general character of this is similar to that from Syria and Palestine. As there, the most frequent shapes are the small piriform jar, stirrup-jars (the piriform variety being so common that Petrie assumed that all stirrup-jar fragments came from this type), the pilgrim flask, and the pyxis. The piriform amphora, the necked krater, and the alabastron, which are so sparsely represented in Syria and Palestine, are scarce at Amarna also. Of the kylix, too, there is scarcely a trace, and bowl and jug types are very few. The shallow saucer-like cup, on the other hand, is commoner at Amarna than in Palestine and Syria. In general, then, it seems reasonable to infer that the Amarna pottery comes from the same manufacturing centres as the IIIA imports in Palestine and Syria, that is, mainly from Rhodes and in part from Cyprus. There is nothing that points to a mainland Greek origin.

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[1] Edgar, *Cat. of Greek Vases*, pl. I.

[2] W. M. F. Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 69.

[3] Cf. Pendlebury in *JEA.* XVI, p. 84, n. 3.

[4] J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 112.

The attribution of the Amarna Mycenaean to a Rhodian and Cypriot origin is not new, and was in fact suggested almost fifty years ago by Petrie. His conclusion has, however, been somewhat neglected as further discoveries of Mycenaean pottery tended to suggest that his views on the distribution of certain types were not wholly substantiated. He argued mainly from the great frequency of piriform shapes (which he regarded as typically Rhodian) and of pilgrim flasks (which he regarded as typically Cypriot).[1] As far as piriform stirrup-jars are concerned, he was right, but small open piriform jars are of much wider distribution. The Cypriot preference for the pilgrim flask has recently been reaffiirmed by Sjöqvist.[2]

Outside Tell el Amarna, all the IIIA finds are stirrup-jars, with the exception of the conical rhyton from Gurob, the two small jugs from Rifeh and Sedment, and four pilgrim flasks, from Riqqeh, Zawyet el Amwat, the Fayum, and one of unknown provenance (Toronto, no. 85). In general they appear rather later than the Amarna material; and it has been seen that the material from Gurob (the most productive site for Mycenaean pots, after Amarna) belongs to the end of IIIA and the beginning of IIIB. (It is this difference of date which accounts for the occurrence at Gurob of flat-topped stirrup-jars, which Petrie supposed came from a different source from those at Amarna.)[3] It has already been noted in listing these pots that for several a Cypriot origin is suggested by certain features of the decoration. Among the IIIB material the overwhelming preponderance of stirrup-jars continues; the Cypriot features are if anything more frequent, and types peculiar to Rhodes are no longer in evidence. The paucity of pot-types shows that it was not the pottery so much as the contents (perhaps olive oil, not produced in Egypt)[1] which interested the Egyptians. Consequently they bought in the nearest and most convenient market—Cyprus. It must be admitted that the evidence is not such as to prove conclusively that *none* of these IIIB pots came from Greece itself; but it seems unlikely.

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[1] Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, p. 17.

[2] *Problems*, p. 69.

[3] *Tell el Amarna*, p. 17.

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[1] Most of the stirrup-jars are from tombs, and oil is a likely grave-gift. On the analogy of stirrup-jar and funeral lekythos, see *BSA*. XLII, p. 24 with references there cited.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In summarizing the results obtained from the preceding analysis it seems desirable to make some attempt to relate the evidence afforded by the pottery to a few reasonably certain fixed points in the history of the Levant countries. Such a collation must always be an ultimate purpose of archaeological inquiry; but the pure archaeologist is not necessarily the best person to undertake it. If, on the other hand, he neglects it entirely, his specialized study may remain less useful to the historian. The present chapter is framed in this attitude of mind: it is tentative merely; and to minimize the risk of false deduction I have made use only of such major outlines and events of the history of Egypt and the Levant as may safely be accepted at second hand by one who is not acquainted with the original sources.

The relations of Minoan Crete with Egypt are well attested from a very early date and form indeed the foundations of Aegean chronology; but in the L.M. I period the actual Minoan objects found in Egypt are few. Wace and Blegen have indeed pointed out that in pottery the amount of Late Helladic I and II from Egypt is about eight times that of Late Minoan I.[1] As the totals of either are so small, the exact statistical value of this statement may be questioned; but the facts are certainly surprising. If, as is generally assumed, Crete was at this time the dominant Aegean power, and Greece not more than a tributary ally, how could Greece trade more freely with Egypt than did Crete, which lies geographically between the two? It is possible, of course, that Cretan trade with Egypt was in other wares than pottery; another hypothesis[2] is that there had in fact been a Helladic conquest of Crete at the beginning of the L.H. I period, so that Crete was already in an inferior position. I am inclined to seek the explanation in the history of Rhodes and adjacent Mycenaean centres,[3] which I believe may have enjoyed some degree of independence both of Crete and the mainland.

Archaeologically, there is some corroboration for this hypothesis. We have seen that at Ialysos in Rhodes a Mycenaean settlement existed from L.H. II times alongside a Minoan one, and that relations between the two were apparently friendly; Kos too had Mycenaean settlers at an early date. Such stations would be invaluable if mainland Greece wished to trade with Egypt;

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[1] *Klio*, xxxii, p. 147.

[2] Cf. *Arch. of Crete*, p. 229.

[3] E.g. Kos and Miletus.

and one is tempted to conjecture further that the Minoan colony at Trianda may have favoured Mycenaean enterprise in the hope of stealing the Egyptian and eastern markets from the central Minoan power. A similar interpretation was adumbrated by Pendlebury,[1] who postulated the desire of Greece and the Aegean to open a way to trade with Egypt as the cause of the final destruction of Minoan power. All such hypotheses must remain conjectural until they can be verified by further archaeological evidence; but at least we may now modify Pendlebury's suggestion in the light of the Myc. II pottery in Egypt and the evidence from Rhodes, which together imply that to some extent this trade route had been opened half a century or more before the ultimate collapse of Minoan Crete. Whether the pottery imported by Egypt was produced in Greece itself or in the south-eastern Aegean still remains uncertain.

From Palestine and Syria our evidence is extremely scanty. The L.H. II kylix from Lachish cannot alone be regarded as evidence for Mycenaean trade with southern Palestine at this date, and the sherds from Gezer add little to the picture. All we can say is that the south Palestinian coast may have been known in L.H. II times to occasional voyagers from Greece; and we ought to bear in mind that a few examples of Helladic work might find their way abroad in non-Helladic ships. The pottery of this period found in Palestine may even have come there by way of Egypt.

The sherds from Byblos may, as stated above (p. 54), be in part Minoan; and in considering the distribution of Mycenaean objects in Syria we must recall that there is evidence of earlier Minoan commerce *via* the mouth of the Orontes in the Middle Minoan period,[2] and that metal vessels found at Byblos itself in a XIIth dynasty tomb-chamber[3] are not improbably of Minoan workmanship. Minoan connexions are also clearly recognizable at Ras Shamra, both in imported objects and in the architecture of the stone-vaulted tombs.[4] It is curious that this earlier trade should have left so little trace *en route*: in Cyprus, for example, which one would expect to be an intermediate place of call, scarcely any Minoan pottery has been found, with the exception of a single Kamares sherd in a doubtful context in Tomb 101 at Episkopi (Kourion)[5] and fragments of a L.M. II bowl from Hala Sultan Tekké.[6] This, however, is perhaps simply because Minoan pottery (other than Kamares ware) was not possessed of qualities to create a demand for it outside Crete. Alternatively, the Minoan traders may have followed a route along the southern coasts of Asia Minor, avoiding longer sea passages. At present we can only guess.

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[1] In *JEA*. xvi, pp. 89 ff.

[2] Cf. C. L. Woolley in *Ant. Journ.* xviii, pp. 1 ff.

[3] *Syria*, iii, pp. 273 ff. with fig. 5. 10, 11 on p. 285 and pl. LXIV. Cf. *P. of M.* ii, pp. 654 f., 825.

[4] Cf. *Arch. of Crete*, pp. 224 f.

[5] *BM. Cat.* A 568, fig. 116; *SPC.* p. 308; *JHS.* xxxi, p. 111, fig. 1.

[6] *BM. Cat.* A 705, fig. 150; *SPC.* p. 210; *JHS. loc. cit.* Of the other BM. pieces listed as L.M. II in *SPC.* p. 210, I think that A 706 is probably L.M. III, C 685 Palace style (perhaps Helladic), and C 678 Myc. II/III (cf. p. 29 above). Sherds A 706 and C 685 are listed also as M.M. II (*SPC.* p. 209), presumably by a slip, unfortunately copied by S. Casson, *Ancient Cyprus*, p. 39.

At Ras Shamra actual Minoan imports do not continue into the Late Minoan period,[1] and Schaeffer suggests that following the disturbances of the Hyksos period the Hurrians or Mitanni may have been in power in this part of Syria, to the temporary exclusion of Aegean trade.[2] When an Aegean object next appears at Ras Shamra it is of non-Minoan type—an alabastron of late Myc. II style (Fig. 9). This, and the contemporary sherds from Tell Atchana and Byblos, are phenomena analogous to the Myc. II pots found in Egypt. Minoan Crete has already receded from commercial prominence in the east; and Mycenaean Greece—or her Aegean dependencies—is succeeding her, first in Egypt, next in the Egyptian province of Syria.

About the same time—that is, at the end of the Myc. II period and the beginning of III A—the first Mycenaean pots appear in Cyprus; and it is surely significant that all the earliest find-groups of Mycenaean in Cyprus are from sites—Milia, Enkomi, Maroni, Hala Sultan Tekké—which lie near the south and east coasts, convenient stations on the voyage to Syria. Quite soon Mycenaean wares penetrate right up the Orontes valley, the route known earlier to the Minoan pioneers, to Katna and Kadesh, the finds from which cannot on stylistic grounds be much later than 1400 B.C. But the absence of any later Mycenaean finds shows that intercourse with this particular area was shortlived; and there is little doubt that we should attribute its cessation to the advance of the Hittites, who shortly after 1400 B.C. under the vigorous King Shubbiluliuma occupied the 'Amuq plain, thus cutting off the upper Orontes from the coast, and encouraging anti-Egyptian movements throughout the northern part of Syria. Ras Shamra, however, on the coast, seems not to have been occupied by the Hittites, and remained open to Mycenaean commerce.[3] At Tell Atchana, which did fall under Hittite domination, Mycenaean imports nevertheless continue in the later III A phase, and in III B, and if there was any break as a result of the Hittite advance it must have been short, since as far as we can tell at present none is reflected in the pottery finds.

Southern Palestine, however, was not affected by the events in the north, and it is in this area that most Myc. III A pottery has been found. This had not been a field of Minoan commerce, and though Lachish and Gezer had, as we have seen, received a few examples of Myc. II wares it was not till after the fall of Crete that it was really opened up to Aegean merchants. It seems probable that the Mycenaean pottery that now appears was not imported for the sake of its contents, since the Aegean is unlikely to have produced anything that Palestine did not, but rather for the pottery itself, which in technique excels all the local wares with which it occurs. Of the sites where it has been found Askalon and Tell Ajjul, both on the coast, may be regarded as the points of entry for the new trade. The latter in fact lies on a silted-up estuary (the Wadi Ghazzeh) which as Petrie has observed was in ancient times the best port between Egypt and the Bay of Acre.[1] Gerar lies a little way up the Wadi Ghazzeh, and the other sites to the east and north of it which have yielded Myc. IIIA pottery would all be easily accessible from the coast.

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[1] Cf. p. 53 above.

[2] *Ugaritica I*, p. 70.

[3] F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer*, p. 116, says that Mycenaean pottery was known 'im gesamten Bereiche des hethitischen Syrien', but the implications of this statement ignore the important question of the *date* of the pottery.

The Bay of Acre and the plain of Esdraelon are such an obvious entry into Palestine from the sea that it seems at first remarkable that Myc. IIIA pottery has not been found more plentifully in these parts also. In fact the earliest finds from Tell Abu Hawam and from Beth Shan (which must have received any Mediterranean imports by this route) do not seem to be earlier than a date towards the end of Myc. IIIA; and we must probably seek the cause in those same revolts and disturbances which shook all the northern provinces of the Egyptian empire in the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. The provinces were in fact in grave danger, but the Pharaoh Akhnaton (1380–1362 B.C.) was too much occupied with his own religious and political revolution at home to take due notice and action in foreign affairs; and the three succeeding Pharaohs appear to have been unable to cope with the confused situation bequeathed to them both at home and abroad.

In Egypt itself, however, the reign of Akhnaton was marked by a violent break with traditional prejudice, and the lively encouragement of foreign influences. This new atmosphere, added to the final removal of the Minoan obstacle, may well have produced something like Eldorado for Mycenaean traders in Egypt. Whether it was imported for its own excellence, or for the sake of whatever delicacies it contained—and perhaps, as with ginger in a Chinese jar, both seemed desirable—Mycenaean pottery was a familiar thing in Akhnaton's city at Tell el Amarna from its foundation in the sixth year of his reign until his death fifteen years later. This was, however, a special luxury trade, limited in extent as in duration, and there is little trace of it in other parts of Egypt.

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[1] *Ancient Gaza*, I, p. 2. Jaffa, the medieval and modern *scala* for Jerusalem, has no natural harbour.

The question of the origin of all these imports of Mycenaean pottery to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, which has been discussed more specifically in the preceding chapters, may here be briefly recapitulated. Besides mainland Greece, as has been shown, Rhodes was in the III A phase already a producer of Mycenaean pottery; and so to some extent was Cyprus. Of these areas, Cyprus and Rhodes may be grouped together as exhibiting in their Mycenaean ware certain features which occasionally distinguish it from that of mainland Greece; and it is to this eastern division that the Myc. III A pottery in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt belongs. For the earlier part of the III A phase it probably comes largely from Rhodes; but there are some pieces, both in Syria and Palestine and in Egypt, which point to Cyprus; and the Cypriot features become more common as the period advances. This trend is in keeping with developments in Cyprus, where an increasing output of Mycenaean ware is accompanied by a gradually perceptible independence of style. The Mycenaean settlers in Cyprus were learning to stand on their own feet. But if the Mycenaean wares distributed around the coasts of the Levant in this period came rather from 'provincial' areas of the Mycenaean civilization than from Mycenaean Greece itself, there is still strong evidence of the unity of Mycenaean culture. It should be clear from previous chapters that it is often with difficulty, and then not always, that we can decide that a Mycenaean III A pot is from Rhodes or Cyprus rather than from Greece; and the homogeneous style of the Mycenaean *koine* is evidence of a very frequent intercourse between all parts of the Mycenaean world.

The distribution of Myc. III B finds reflects changed conditions in the Egyptian empire. In 1350 B.C. Harmhab, founder of the XIXth Egyptian dynasty, had concluded a treaty with the Hittites which set a limit on their southward expansion; but Kadesh and the upper Orontes, indeed all Syria north of modern Palestine, had remained under their dominion. Even northern Palestine was not finally restored to its allegiance until the expedition of Seti I in 1315 B.C. It was probably as a result of this campaign and the consequent restoration of order that towards the end of the fourteenth century B.C. we begin to find imported Mycenaean pottery, as has already been mentioned, at Tell Abu Hawam and at Beth Shan.

It was the vigorous Ramses II, however, who in the early decades of the thirteenth century B.C. first took really offensive action against the Hittite menace. He pushed right up the Palestinian and Lebanese coast, and the extent of his advance is attested by his inscription of the year 1289 B.C. in the pass at the Nahr el Kelb, a few miles north of Beirut. In the Orontes valley he defeated the Hittites at the celebrated battle of Kadesh in 1288, and a new treaty was concluded in 1272 B.C. Ramses claimed conquests well north of this, though it is not certain that he was able to retain them. In any case this region was still cut off from the coast, and there is still no evidence of Mycenaean trade there such as existed a century earlier. The evidence from Tell Atchana shows that Mycenaean products did still get as far inland as the 'Amuq plain; so perhaps the Hittites shared some limited toleration of this trade. By the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C., however, the Hittite domination of Atchana has given place to the Mitanni (or Amorites).

Ugarit (Ras Shamra), as already mentioned, was never occupied by the Hittites, and it has been suggested that they deliberately spared it out of a politic respect for Mycenaean interests there.[1] Mycenaean pottery is frequent at this site throughout III B, as in III A, and is in fact so plentiful as to suggest that the population actually included a foreign community of primarily Mycenaean culture.[2] The case is very different at Byblos, where, though a few Myc. II sherds are recorded, there is no Myc. III A (unless it has escaped excavation or publication), but a little Myc. III B, which probably reflects the new conditions resulting from Ramses II's campaign of reconquest. This is more certain in the coastal regions of the Lebanon south of Beirut, where the finds from Gharifeh, Sarafend, Khirbet Selim, and Aktanit, though not of great individual importance, constitute evidence that pottery of Mycenaean style was now familiar in this area. It had not been so in the preceding III A period.

Tell Abu Hawam (which may well have included a foreign, Mycenaean, community)[3] clearly must have become in this III B period a considerable import centre for Mycenaean pottery (among other foreign goods), which found its way thence along the line of the River Kishon to Megiddo and Taanach, and farther afield to Beth Shan. By this route too, we may suppose, came the Mycenaean pots found at Tell Achari, right away in a tributary valley of the River Yarmuk, some twenty-five miles east of Lake Tiberias. (One may well speculate why such imported pottery should penetrate so far inland. Is there here some hint of a link with caravan routes to Mesopotamia?) In the same group we may reckon the Myc. III B pots from Jat, in the hills north-east of the Bay of Acre, and from Shechem away to the south. All this area appears to have been first opened up to Mycenaean influence in the III B period—that is, in the thirteenth century B.C., after its reconquest by Egypt.[4]

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[1] Cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I*, p. 103. There is a further suggestion of peaceful relations between Mycenaeans and Hittites in the presence of Myc. III A/B sherds at Kazanli, Tarsus, and Mersin, right within Hittite territory.

[2] Cf. p. 71 above.

[3] Cf. p. 87 above.

[4] Cf. p. 104, n. 3.

In southern Palestine, as a comparison of Maps 2 and 3 at once shows, the geographical distribution of the finds is pretty much as in the preceding phase, though they are rather more numerous. The addition of a few fresh find-spots and the disappearance of a few others could probably be explained by a closer examination of the history of individual cities.

In Egypt itself the violent reaction which succeeded the revolutionary Amarna period no doubt discouraged Mycenaean trade, which as far as we can see was concentrated in Akhnaton's city, and to a great extent died with it. There is nothing either of later IIIA or of the IIIB period to compare in quantity with the Tell el Amarna material, even if we marshal together the finds from the whole country. Apart from Gurob, in the Fayum, we have to deal with scattered single pots, which although quite widely distributed are too few to imply any real demand in Egypt for such foreign pottery in the thirteenth century B.C.

It is in this phase of its history that the Mycenaean civilization exerted its widest influence in the Levant; but this wide diffusion involved a certain dilution. It has been shown in the preceding chapters that in the thirteenth century B.C. the imported pottery in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt which we for convenience call Mycenaean was mostly produced in Cyprus. The very fact that we can in that period so much more readily distinguish a regional variety of Mycenaean pottery is itself proof of a loosening of the close unity of the Mycenaean world. The Mycenaean culture in Cyprus, though by its character it still merits that name, is practically independent, and there seems to have been little direct trade in this period between Greece itself and the eastern Mediterranean. On the Palestinian coasts Tell Abu Hawam is the only site where the pottery suggests the direct influence of mainland Greece; and it is just possible that adventurers from Greece had some hand in the exploitation of that area when the reassertion of Egyptian control reopened the way for commerce. But even at Tell Abu Hawam the Cypriot flavour is predominant.

The breaking up of the Mycenaean world which is thus foreshadowed became complete in the IIIC period, in which Greece and the islands, including the Dodecanese, develop a number of local styles of pottery, all bearing witness to their Mycenaean antecedents, but exhibiting far wider differences than before. In Cyprus occurs a quite distinct ware which some have called 'sub-Mycenaean', but which Furumark, with regard to its thorough independence of contemporary Mycenaean styles, prefers to name 'Decorated Late Cypriot III'. These styles of pottery and their interrelation have already been the subject of a monograph by Furumark, *The Mycenaean*

IIIC pottery and its relations to Cypriot fabrics.[1] In Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mycenaean imports cease. In Palestine the Mycenaean influence does survive, though dimly, in the native pottery, which adopts or corrupts a few Mycenaean forms and paints them with rude red stripes: but these pots are mere ghosts of those that once gleamed in the houses of Akhetaten. Mycenaean influence also appears, and more obviously, in 'Philistine' ware, the shapes and decoration of which clearly derive from some Myc. IIIC ware, though their exact source and the mode of their transmission to the Palestine littoral are still elusive.[2] The only genuine Myc. IIIC pottery found in the Levant (by which term I do not here include the eastern Aegean and the west coast of Asia Minor) is that from Tarsus.[3] This must represent a limited renewal of Mycenaean intercourse, and may perhaps be associated with the legend of Amphilochus, who was related to have made his way to Cilicia after the sack of Troy and settled there.[4]

The migrations of the period succeeding the Trojan war and the break-up of the Mycenaean world are too large a subject to be included in the scope of the present study; but it may not be irrelevant here to attempt some explanation of the beginnings of that break-up, in the preceding period.

In the reign of Merneptah (1233–1223 B.C.) Egypt was threatened on all hands, and had to face not only widespread revolts in Palestine but also a heavy attack made on the western Delta by the Libyans, allied with a number of peoples from overseas whose names are given as Sherden, Shekelesh, Ekwesh, Luka, and Teresh. Of these the Luka are pretty certainly Lycians, and the Ekwesh are usually accepted as 'Achaeans' and tacitly equated with the people of Mycenaean Greece. This view was accepted by Pendlebury, who nevertheless felt it necessary to comment on the 'more than Pelopid stupidity' of Greece in joining in such an attack after a period of nearly two centuries during which the Aegean had enjoyed the benefits of peaceful trade with Egypt.[5] But on the one hand the evidence for this trade does not, on examination, seem so very great; and on the other it is not certain that the Ekwesh, even though they were 'Achaeans', came from Greece, nor indeed that they represent an official or national enterprise.

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[1] *AIRRS*. x, p. 194.

[2] It is to be hoped that these obscurities will be cleared away by a monograph which I understand Dr Furumark has now in hand. Cf. *CMP*. p. 118.

[3] Since the above was written Furumark, excavating a fortified late Bronze Age town at Sinda, twenty miles east of Nicosia in Cyprus, has found considerable quantities of Mycenaean ware of a style corresponding to the Myc. IIIC 1 of mainland Greece, but 'obviously of local manufacture'. This 'has no direct antecedents in Cyprus, and must be the product of newly arrived Greek settlers', presumably of the period after the Trojan war. Brief preliminary report in *AJA*. LII, p. 531.

[4] Cf. Strabo, 676.

[5] *JEA*. XVI, p. 91 with n. 3.

A more likely home for these particular 'Achaeans' may be inferred from the Hittite evidence. Schachermeyr, in his work, *Hethiter und Achäer*,[1] has convincingly identified with Achaean (i.e. Mycenaean) Greece the state of Ahhiava, relations with which are alluded to in Hittite texts covering a period approximately 1360–1200 B.C. Summarizing the evidence of the texts he shows[2] that the spheres of influence of Hittites and Ahhiava met in south-western Asia Minor, where there were overseas possessions or dependencies of the Ahhiava, including a city called Millavanda or Millavata (perhaps Miletus, where we have seen there was a Mycenaean settlement). It is apparently this area which was in the reign of Tuthalia IV (*c.* 1260–1230 B.C.) the scene of activities of one Attarissia, a 'man of Ahhia', who in the succeeding reign of Arnuvanda (*c.* 1230–1215 B.C.) appears to have been actively hostile to the Hittites, and made marauding raids on Cyprus (Alasia), which the Hittite king was unable to protect against him. This Attarissia may well have been a local Achaean prince, of Miletus or some other Mycenaean settlement as yet unknown, asserting his independence of the central Mycenaean power; and the Achaeans who joined in the attack on Egypt may have come from the same quarter, thus being neighbours as well as colleagues of the Lycians who are mentioned along with them. Another text of the same reign, unfortunately mutilated, seems to imply that it was the Hittite policy to prevent Achaean ships trafficking with Syria.[3] Relations with the Hittite power were clearly uneasy, and I would conjecturally assign to the latter half of the IIIB period the appearance of the Hellado-Cilician ware, which I think may have been produced as a result of a cessation of imports of genuine Mycenaean ware, which earlier in Myc. IIIB, as we have seen, had been available in Cilicia.

The possibility that there was internal discord within the Mycenaean commonwealth is perhaps reflected in the Greeks' own traditions about the Pelopid dynasty. Pelops came to Greece from Asia,[4] two generations before the Trojan war, or about 1250 B.C., and established himself first in Elis. Subsequently, by a combination of force and diplomacy, his family made themselves rulers of the Argolid (at the expense of Herakles and the native Perseid family) and of Laconia. His grandsons Agamemnon and Menelaus go forth in splendour as the leaders of the Achaeans against Troy. Thus Pelops, though he came from Asia, is founder of an Achaean dynasty; and he may well have been himself an Achaean, a subject prince of some Mycenaean city across the Aegean such as Miletus, profiting by a time of dynastic weakness or confusion, and perhaps even with some claim of relationship, to establish himself in mainland Greece, somewhat as William of Normandy conquered England.[1]

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[1] *Mitt. d. altoriental. Gesellschaft*, IX, Heft 1–2.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 43 ff.

[3] F. Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* p. 46, and F. Sommer, *Ahhiava-Urkunden*, pp. 326 ff.

[4] Cf. *inter alia* Thucydides I, 9; Strabo, 321.

Such internal disturbances might alone result in a diminution of more distant overseas intercourse. Combined with attacks such as that of Attarissia on the outposts in Cyprus, they would go far to destroy Mycenaean commerce in the seas of the Levant. Nor must we forget Troy. Greek tradition tells of a war against Troy before that immortalized by Homer, and apparently—since Herakles is the hero of it—before the establishment of the Pelopid supremacy in Greece. Perhaps Greece was in actual fact embroiled in a war with Troy at this period, a prelude to the far more catastrophic hostilities of half a century later. In all this we can only speculate, and that on the uncertain basis of tradition; and we cannot hope to write anything approaching a definitive account of Mycenaean relations until excavation, especially in Asia Minor, has provided more solid facts to illuminate both traditions and records.

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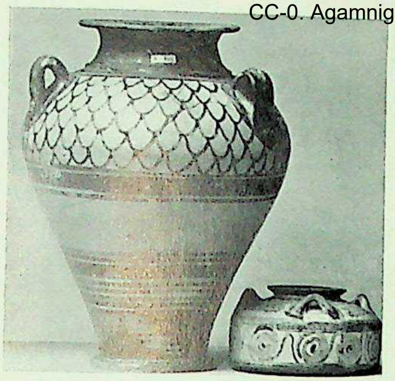
[1] Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, ch. xvii, §1.

PLATES

PLATE I

Myc. IIIA1 Pottery from Ialysos, Rhodes

1. Brit. Mus. A 825. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 22)
2. Brit. Mus. A 816. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 23)
3. Brit. Mus. A 824. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 19)
4. Brit. Mus. A 813. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 20)
5. Brit. Mus. A 815. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 24)
6. Brit. Mus. A 826. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 25)
7. Brit. Mus. A 876. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 4. 6)
8. Brit. Mus. A 812. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 14)
9. Brit. Mus. A 823. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 1. 15)
10. Brit. Mus. A 828. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 11)
11. Brit. Mus. A 822. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 2. 1)



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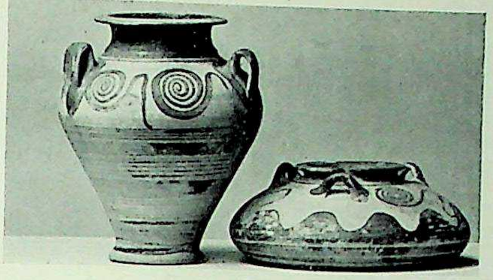

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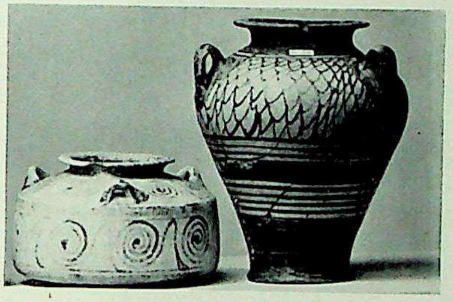

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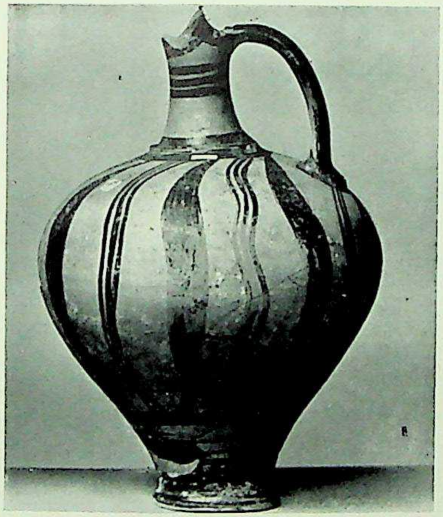

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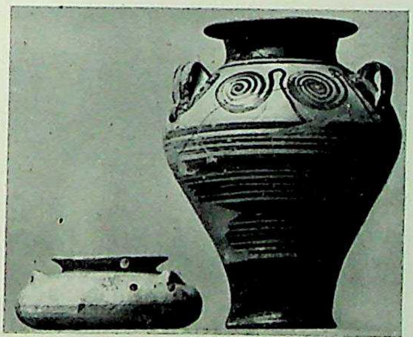

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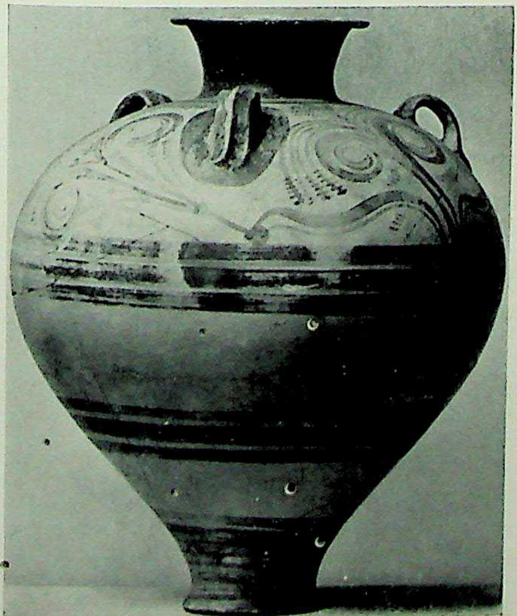

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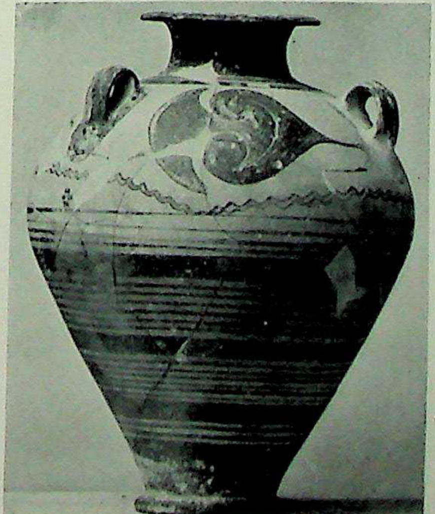

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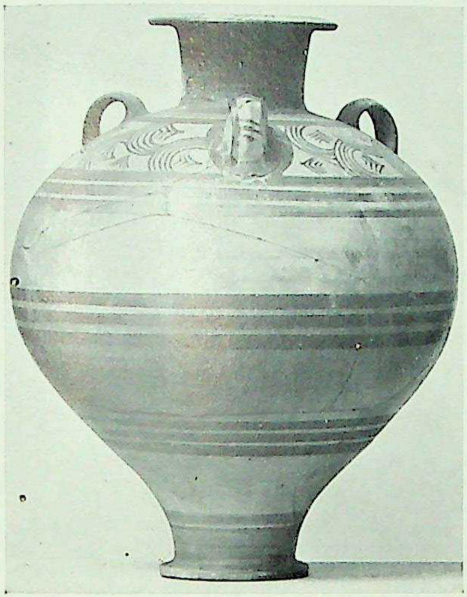
PLATE II

MYC. IIIA2 POTTERY FROM IALYSOS, RHODES

1. Brit. Mus. A 836. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 2. 4)
2. Brit. Mus. A 829. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 13)
3. Brit. Mus. A 874. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 10)
4. Brit. Mus. A 830. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 2. 3)
5. Brit. Mus. A 877. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 4. 3)
6. Brit. Mus. A 890. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 5)
7. Brit. Mus. A 940. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 6)
8. Brit. Mus. A 941. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 2)



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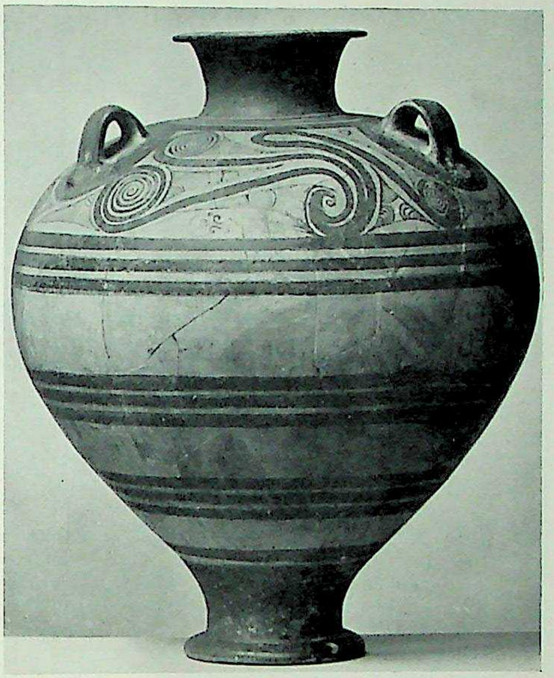

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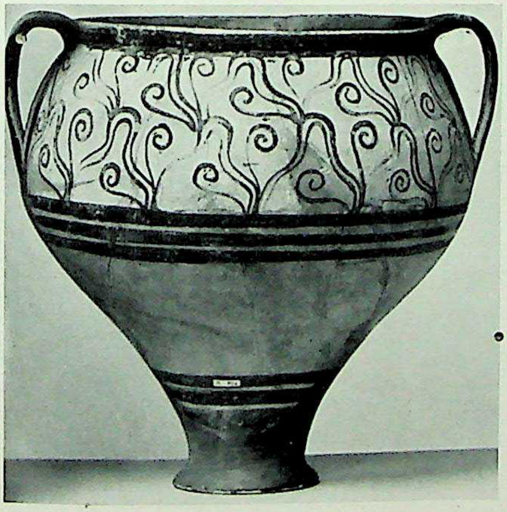

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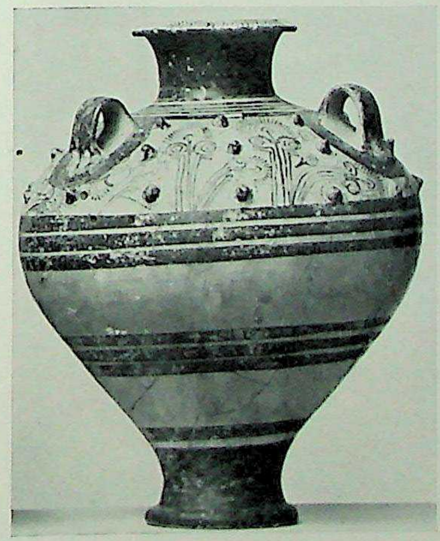

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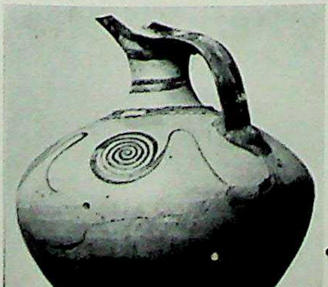

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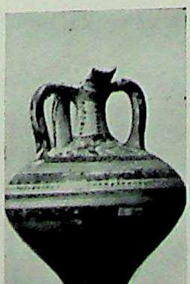

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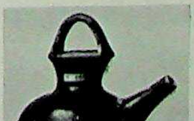

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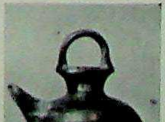

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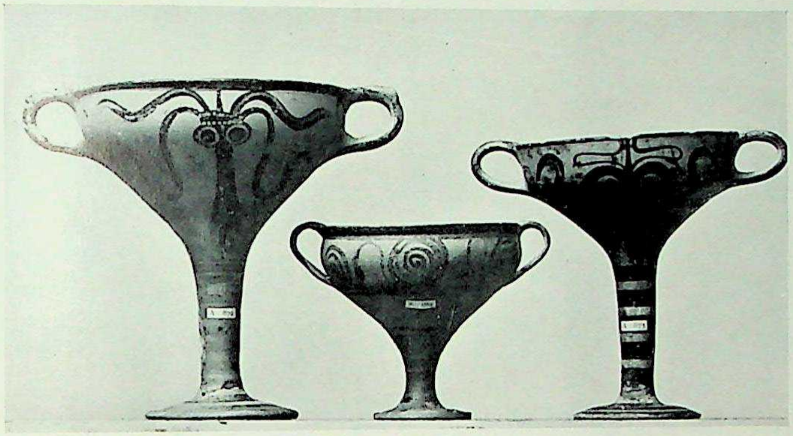
PLATE III

MYC. IIIA AND IIIB KYLIKES FROM IALYSOS, RHODES

1. Brit. Mus. A 870
2. Brit. Mus. A 864
3. Brit. Mus. A 873
4. Brit. Mus. A 866
5. Brit. Mus. A 865
6. Brit. Mus. A 872
7. Brit. Mus. A 871
8. Brit. Mus. A 867
9. Brit. Mus. A 868
10. Brit. Mus. A 869

(*CVA. BM. 5*, pl. 5. 24–33)

PLATE III



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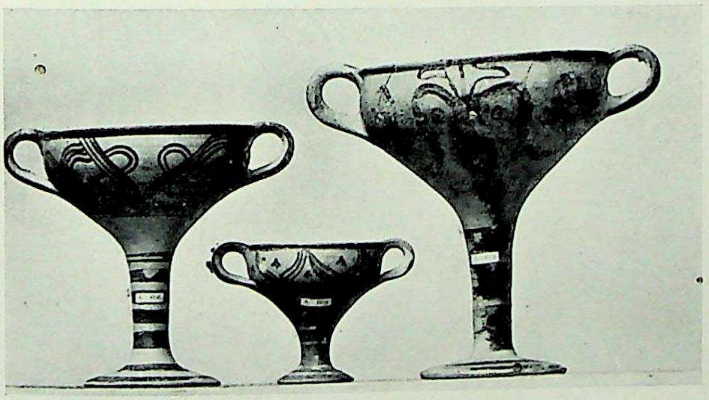

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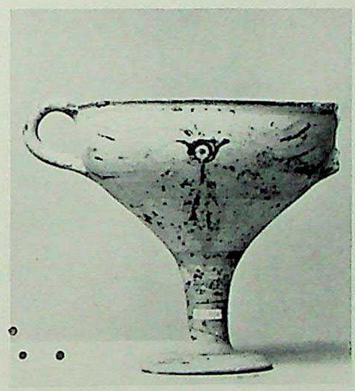

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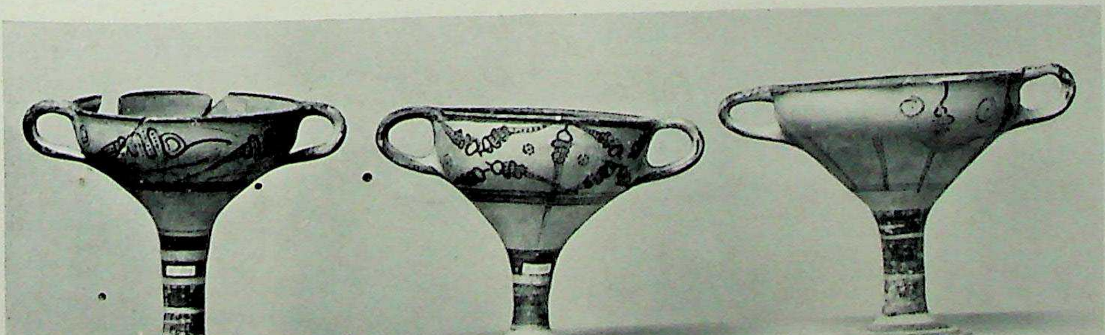


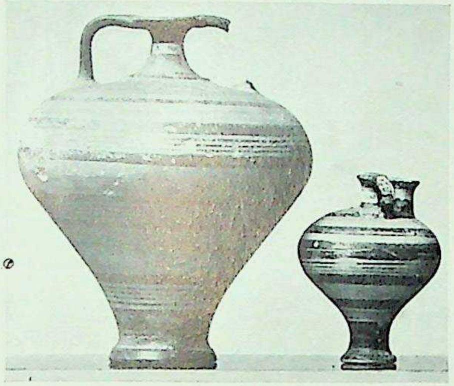
8 9 10

PLATE IV

Myc. IIIA and IIIB Stirrup-jars from Ialysos, Rhodes

1. Brit. Mus. A 895. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 21)
2. Brit. Mus. A 900. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 22)
3. Brit. Mus. A 899. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 26)
4. Brit. Mus. A 898. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 28)
5. Brit. Mus. A 916. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 19)
6. Brit. Mus. A 917. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 15)
7. Brit. Mus. A 927. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 14)
8. Brit. Mus. A 896. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 24)
9. Brit. Mus. A 903. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 30)
10. Brit. Mus. A 894. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 31)
11. Brit. Mus. A 902. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 32)
12. Brit. Mus. A 928. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 20)
13. Brit. Mus. A 926. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 17)
14. Brit. Mus. A 904. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 33)
15. Brit. Mus. A 901. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 34)

PLATE IV



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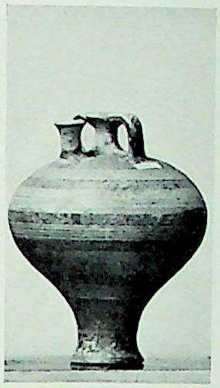

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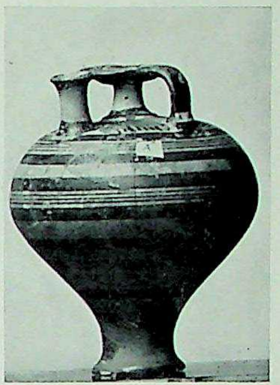

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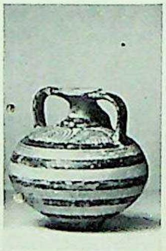

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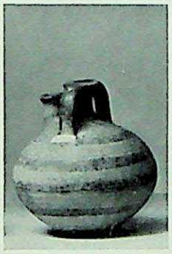

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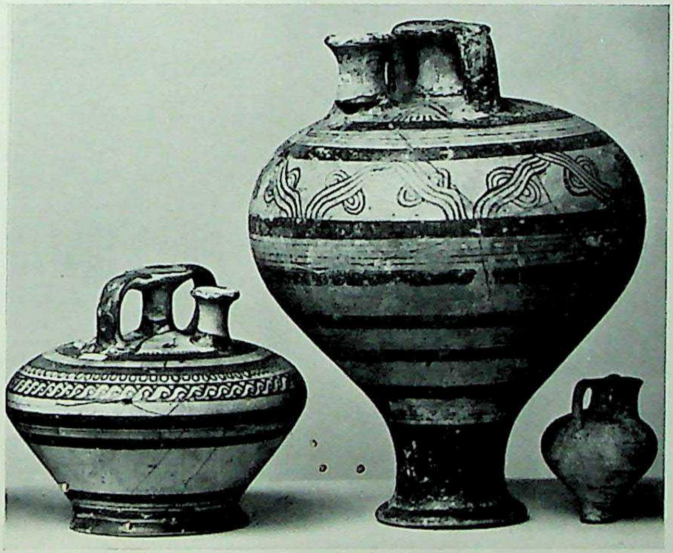

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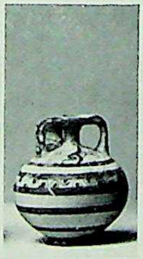

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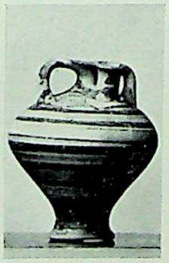

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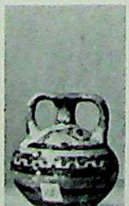

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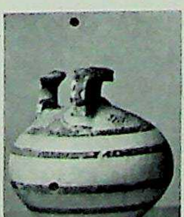

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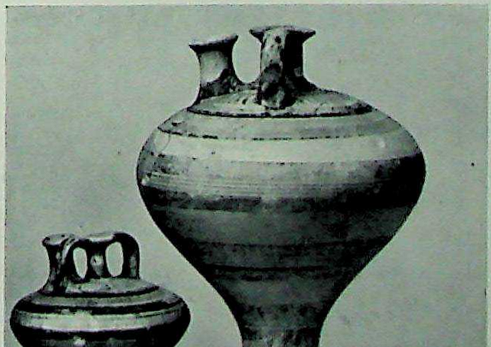

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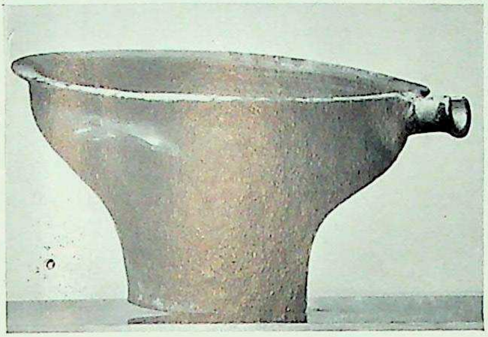
PLATE V

MYC. IIIB POTTERY FROM IALYSOS, RHODES

1. Brit. Mus. A 947. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 12)
2. Brit. Mus. A 946. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 8. 8)
3. Brit. Mus. A 875. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 8)
4. Brit. Mus. A 838. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 2. 5)
5. Brit. Mus. A 878. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 4. 2)
6. Brit. Mus. A 885. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 6. 25)
7. Brit. Mus. A 888. (*CVA. BM.* 5, pl. 3. 2)

PLATE V



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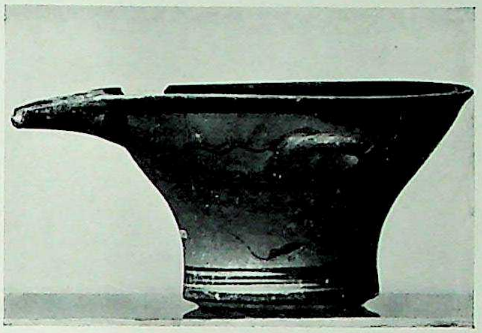

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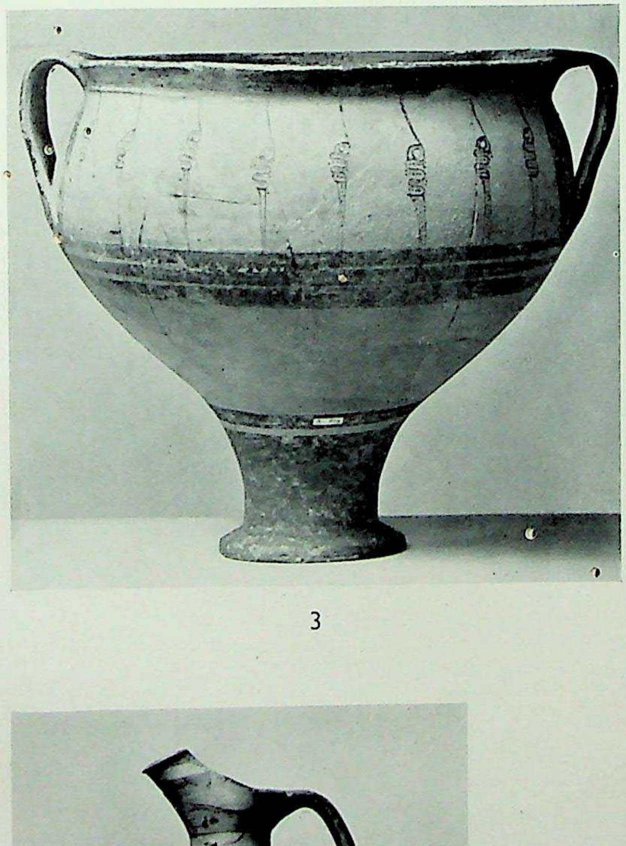

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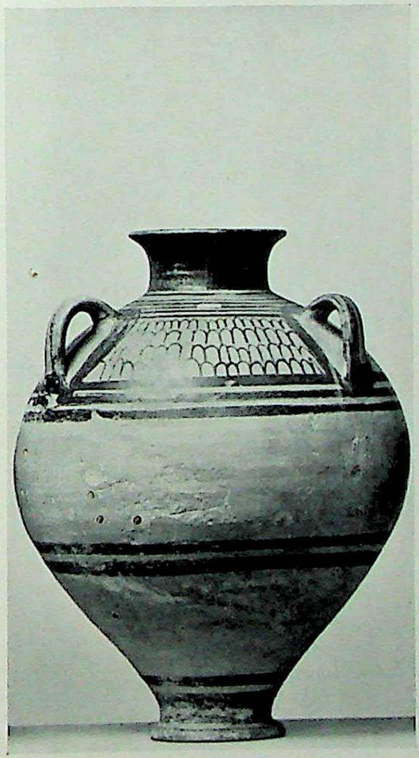

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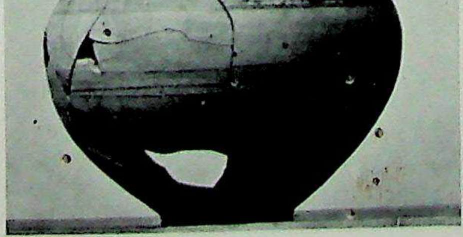

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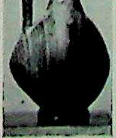

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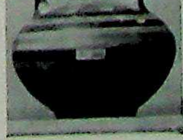

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PLATE VI

MYC. IIIA POTTERY FROM CYPRUS

1. Brit. Mus. C 478, from Kourion. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 33)
2. Brit. Mus. C 475, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 23)
3. Cyprus Mus. 1654, from Maroni. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
4. Cyprus Mus. 1707, from Maroni. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
5. Cyprus Mus. 1651 A, from Maroni. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
6. Brit. Mus. C 579, from Maroni. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 16)
7. Brit. Mus. C 578, from Hala Sultan Tekké. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 17)
8. Brit. Mus. C 624, from Maroni.
9. Brit. Mus. C 392, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 8. 7)
10. Brit. Mus. C 380, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 8. 10)

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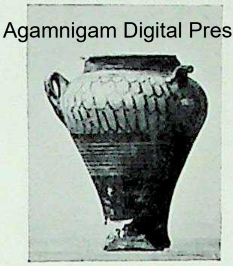

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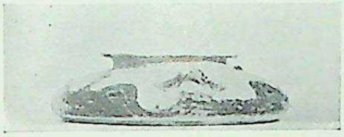

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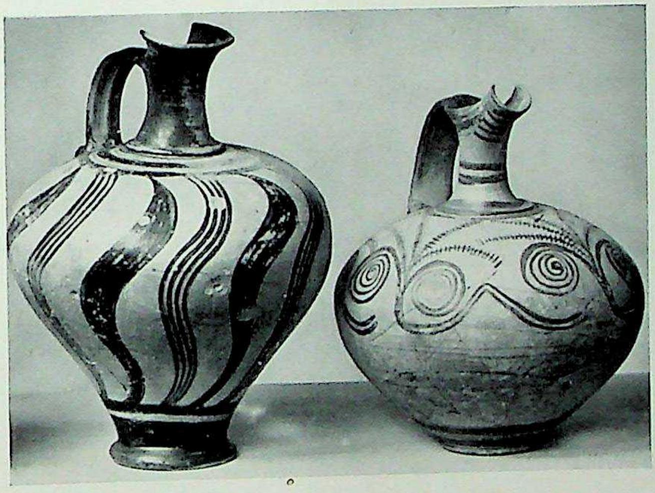

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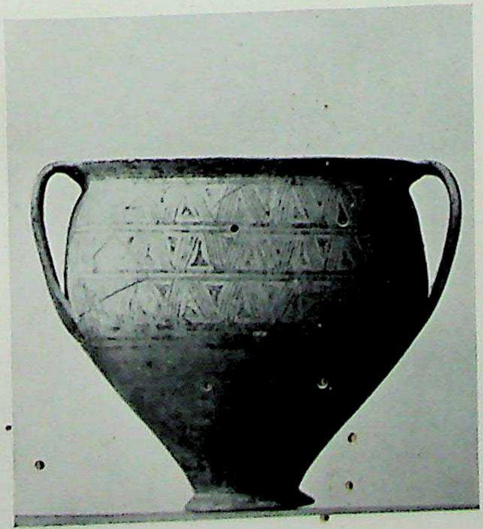

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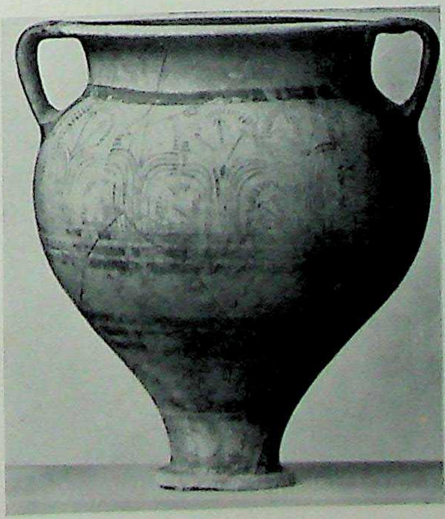

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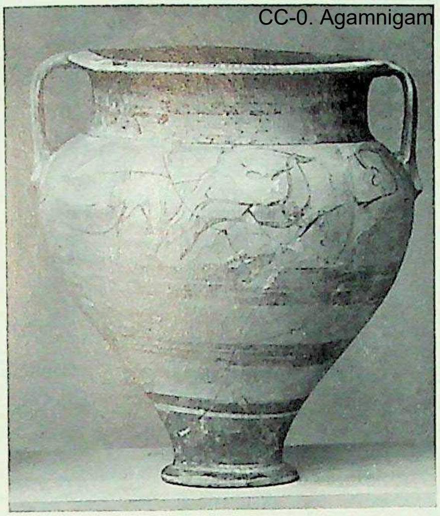
PLATE VII

MYC. IIIA KRATERS FROM CYPRUS

1. Brit. Mus. C 368, from Maroni. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 6)
2. Brit. Mus. C 372, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 4)
3. Brit. Mus. C 377, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 2)
4. Brit. Mus. C 340, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 6)
5. Brit. Mus. C 342, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 8. 12)



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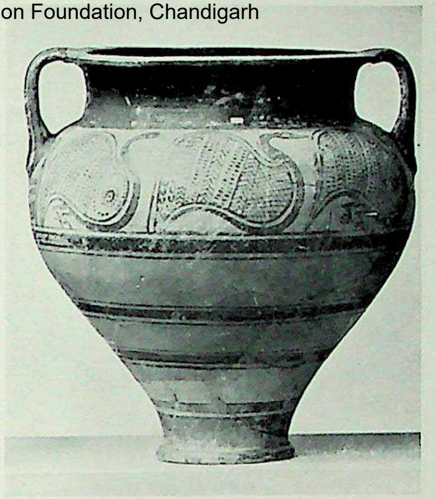

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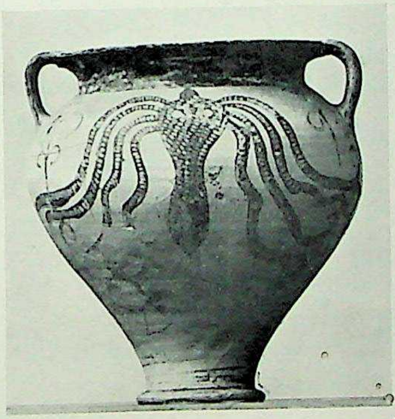

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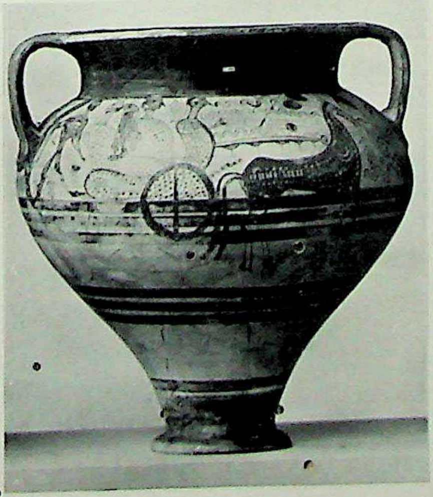

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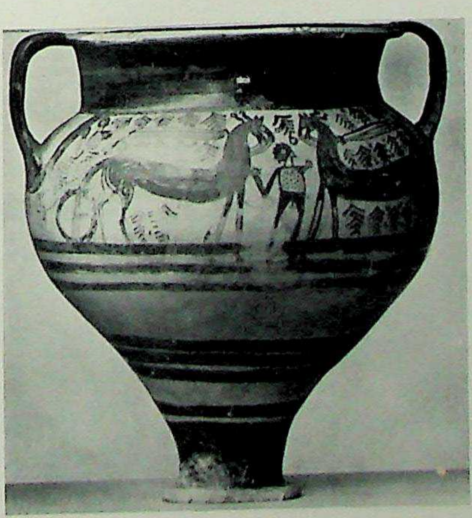

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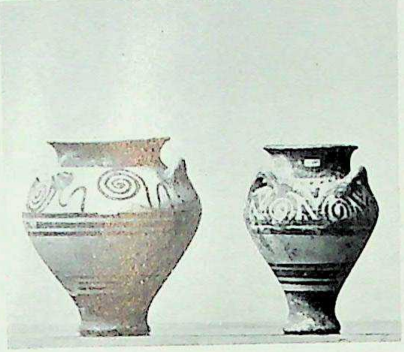
PLATE VIII

MYC. III A PIRIFORM JARS AND JUG FROM CYPRUS

1. Brit. Mus. C 462, from Kourion. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 24)
2. Brit. Mus. C 466, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 25)
3. Brit. Mus. C 470, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 28)
4. Brit. Mus. C 465, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 29)
5. Brit. Mus. C 463, from Kourion. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 31)
6. Cyprus Mus. 1664. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
7. Cyprus Mus. 1655. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
8. Cyprus Mus. 1658. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
9. Brit. Mus. C 450, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 36)
10. Brit. Mus. C 437, from Kourion. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 37)
11. Brit. Mus. C 454, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 1. 38)
12. Brit. Mus. C 600, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 32)

PLATE VIII



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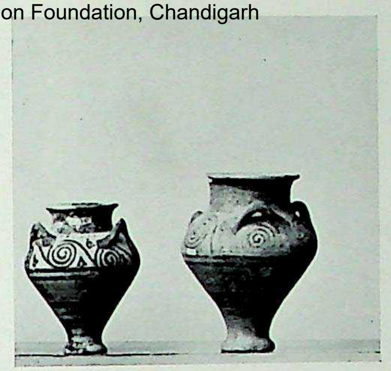

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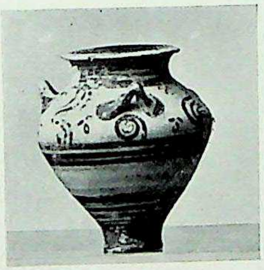

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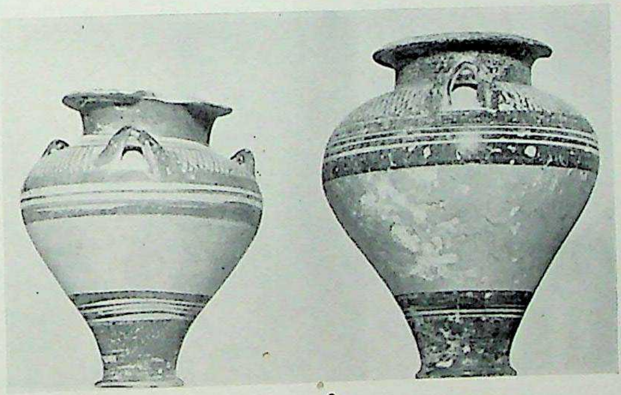

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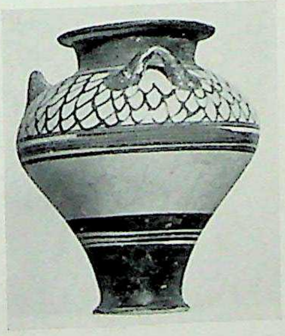

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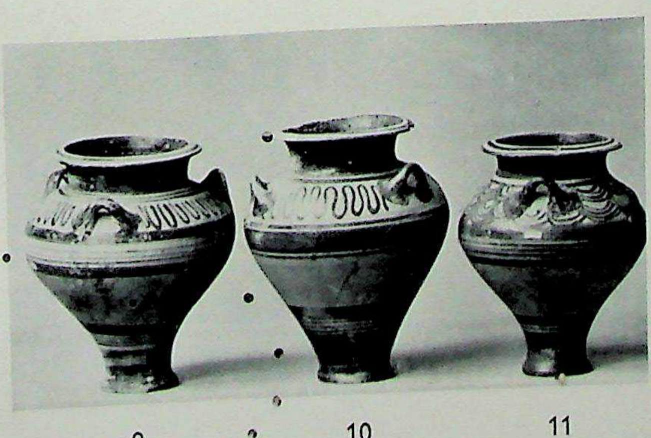

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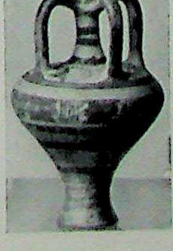

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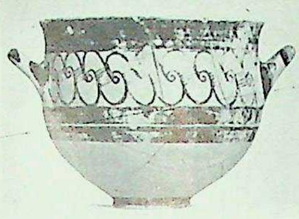
PLATE IX

MYC. IIIB BOWLS AND KRATERS FROM CYPRUS

1. Enkomi Tomb 6/52 (Swedish excavations). (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
2. Cyprus Mus. A 1931, exact prov. unknown. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
3. Brit. Mus. C 402, from Klavdia. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 4)
4. Brit. Mus. C 417, from Enkomi
5. Brit. Mus. C 403, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 3)
6. Brit. Mus. C 417, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 1)
7. Brit. Mus. C 411, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 3)
8. Brit. Mus. C 408, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 5)
9. Brit. Mus. C 410, from Hala Sultan Tekké. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 9. 1)



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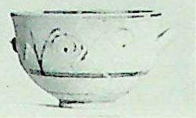

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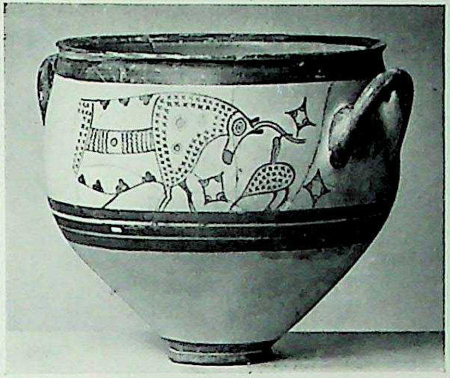

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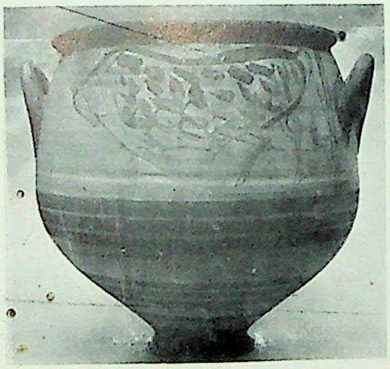

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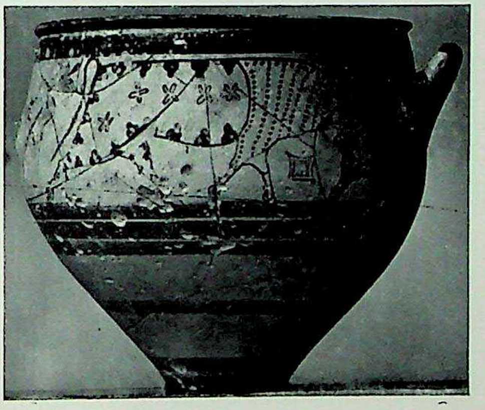

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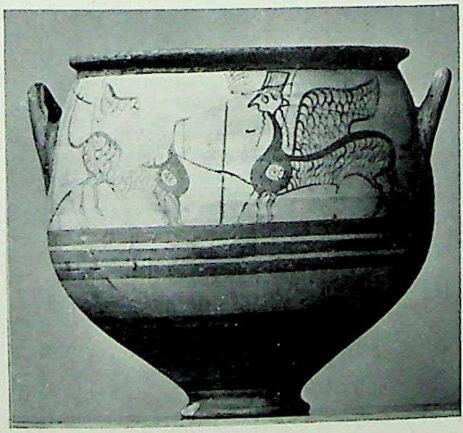

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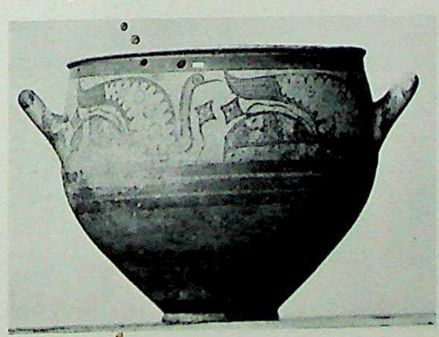

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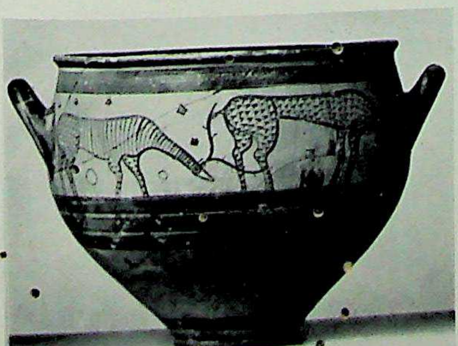

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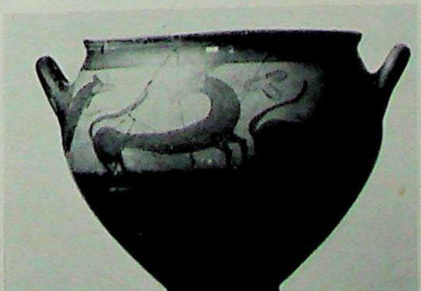

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PLATE X

MYC. IIIB KRATERS FROM CYPRUS

1. Cyprus Mus. A 1546, from Salamis. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
2. Cyprus Mus. A 1543, Karemphybikes Collection. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)

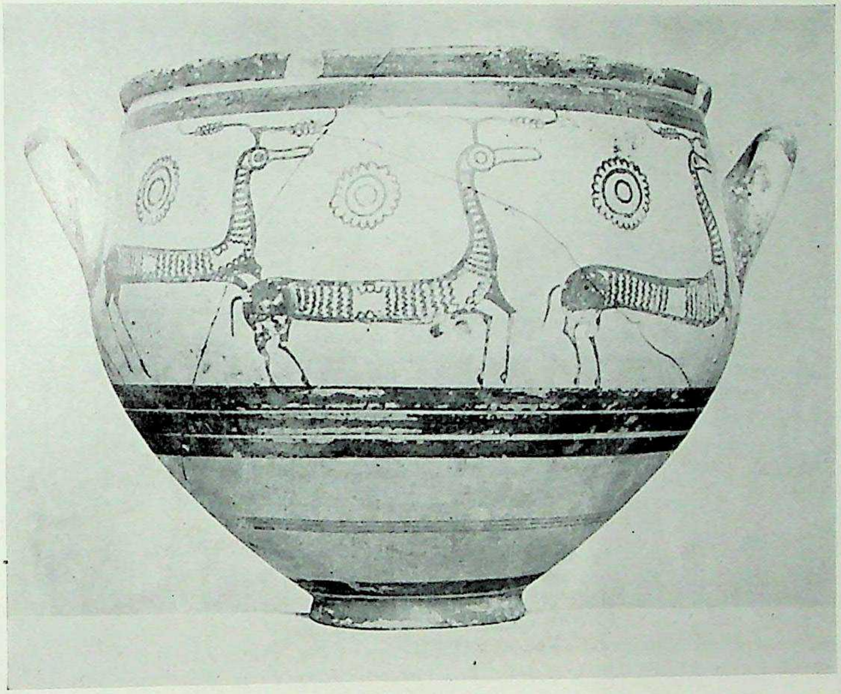

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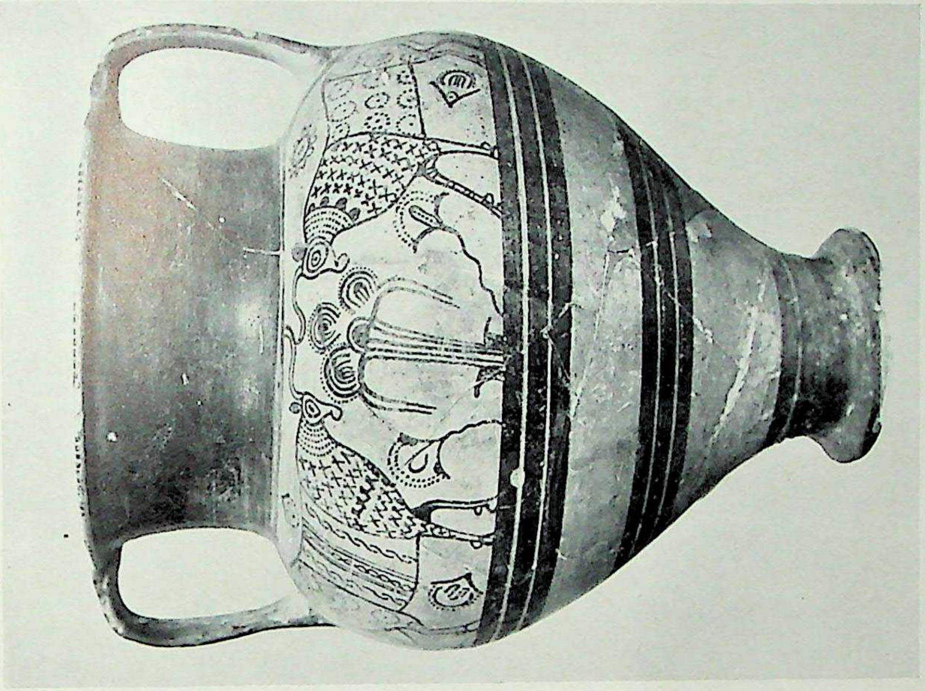
PLATE XI

MYC. IIIB KRATERS FROM CYPRUS

1. Cyprus Mus. A 1648, from Shemishin, between Kellia and Aradippo. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
2. Cyprus Mus. A 1647, Loizides Collection. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)



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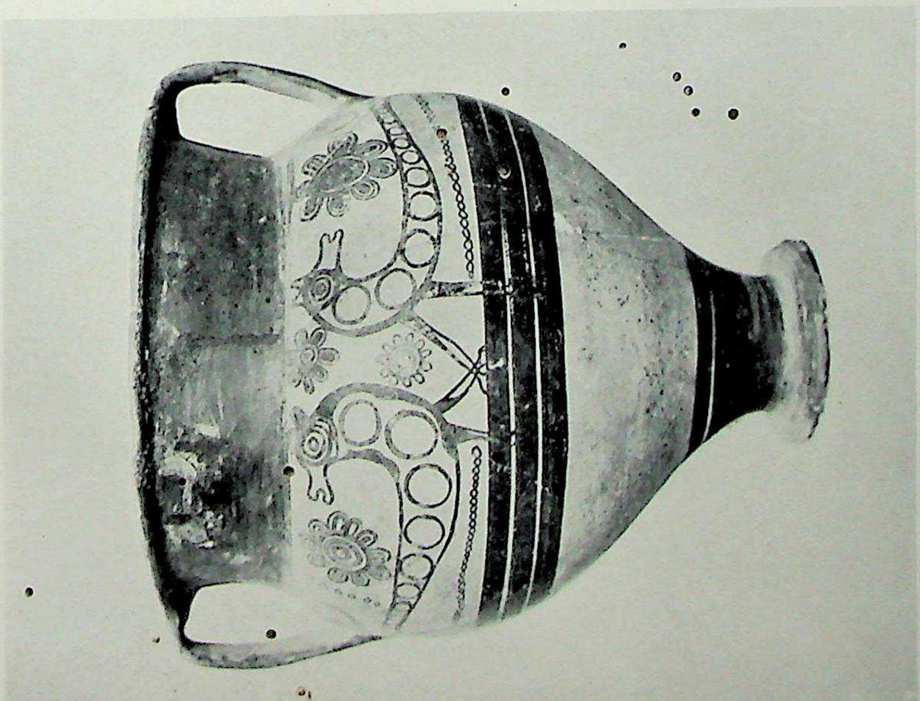

1

PLATE XII

MYC. IIIA AND IIIB CUPS AND DISHES FROM CYPRUS

1. Brit. Mus. C 671, from Klavdia
2. Brit. Mus. C 672, from Klavdia
3. Brit. Mus. C 673, from Klavdia
4. Brit. Mus. C 659, from Kourion
5. Brit. Mus. C 626, from Enkomi
6. Brit. Mus. C 665, from Enkomi
7. Brit. Mus. C 663, from Enkomi
8. Brit. Mus. C 666, from Enkomi
9. Brit. Mus. C 670, from Enkomi
10. Brit. Mus. C 664, from Enkomi
11. Brit. Mus. C 669, from Enkomi
12. Brit. Mus. C 662, from Kourion
13. Brit. Mus. C 631, from Enkomi
14. Brit. Mus. C 627, from Enkomi
15. Brit. Mus. C 625, from Enkomi

(*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 5. 12–26)

PLATE XII

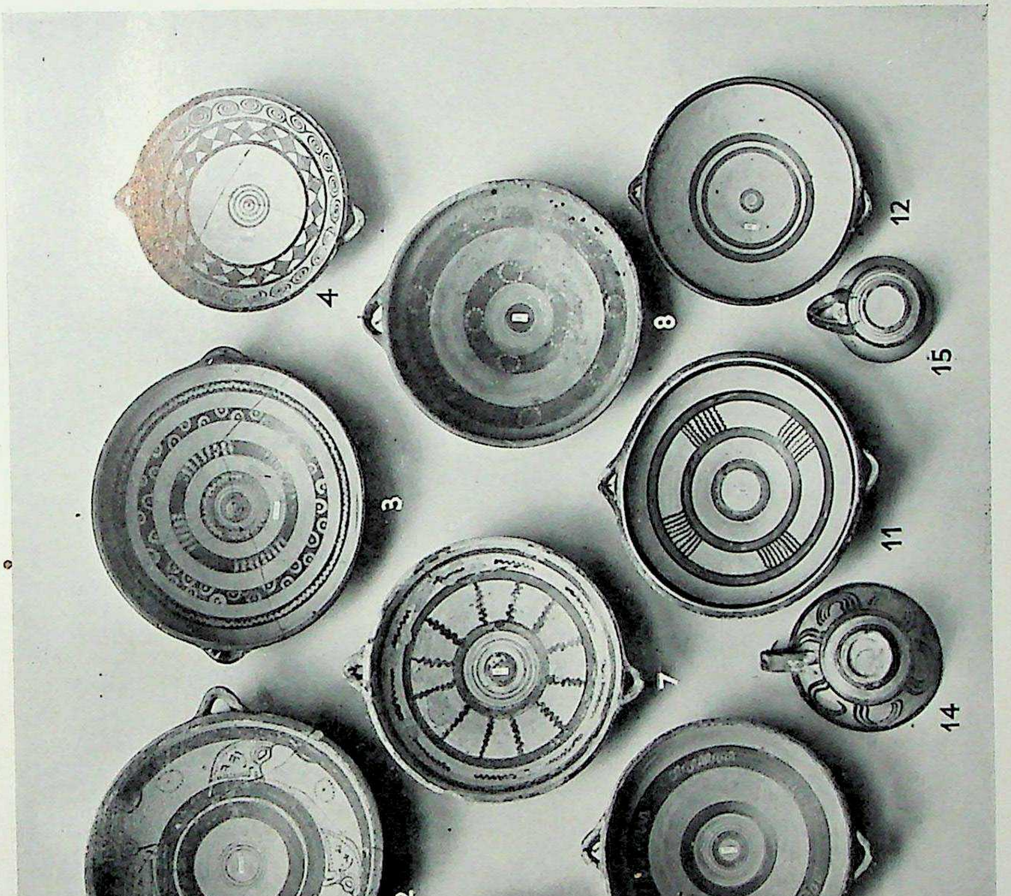
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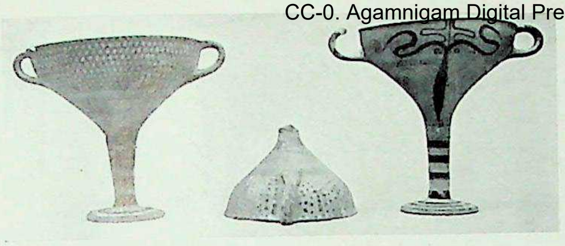
PLATE XIII

MYC. IIIB POTTERY FROM CYPRUS

1. Brit. Mus. C 610, from Enkomi.
2. Brit. Mus. C 611, from Enkomi.
3. Brit. Mus. C 608, from Kourion.
4. Brit. Mus. C 489, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 12)
5. Brit. Mus. C 492, from Klavdia. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 13)
6. Brit. Mus. C 583, from Enkomi.
7. Cyprus Mus. 1651, exact prov. unknown. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
8. Brit. Mus. C 430, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 10. 5)
9. Brit. Mus. C 576, from Hala Sultan Tekké. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 18)
10. Brit. Mus. C 575, from Hala Sultan Tekké. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 4. 14)
11. Cyprus Mus. 1594, from Dromolaxia. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
12. Cyprus Mus. 1605, from Um Haram Tekké. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
13. Cyprus Mus. 1632, from Salamis. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
14. Brit. Mus. C 550, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 30)
15. Brit. Mus. C 537, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 38)
16. Cyprus Mus. 1779, exact prov. unknown. (Photo, Cyprus Mus.)
17. Brit. Mus. C 555, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 20)
18. Brit. Mus. C 557, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 34)
19. Brit. Mus. C 549, from Enkomi. (*CVA. BM. 1*, pl. 3. 35)

PLATE XIII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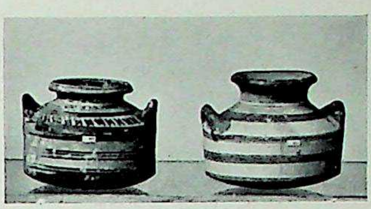
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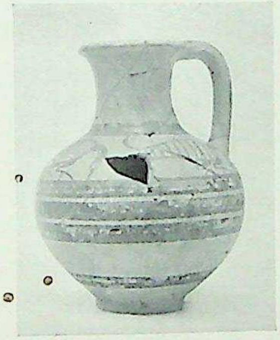
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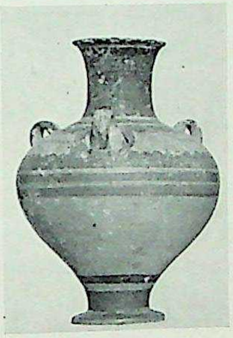
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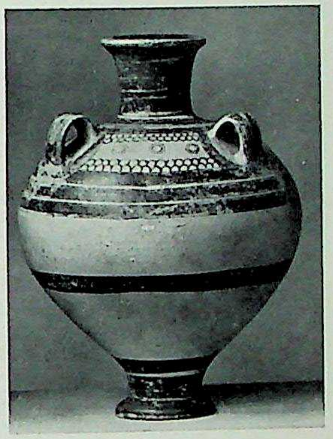
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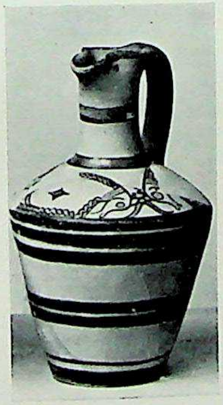
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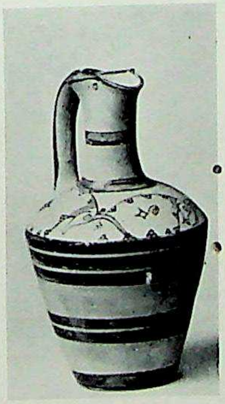
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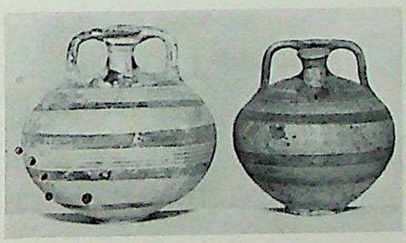
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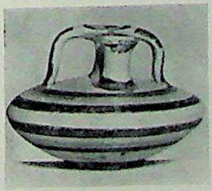
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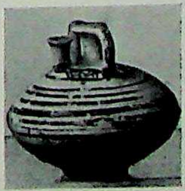
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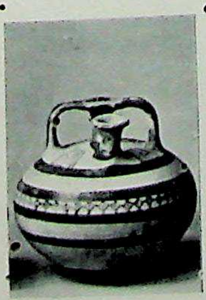
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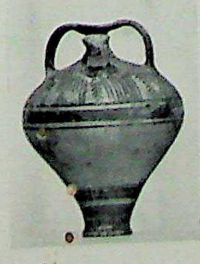
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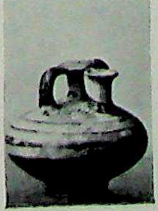
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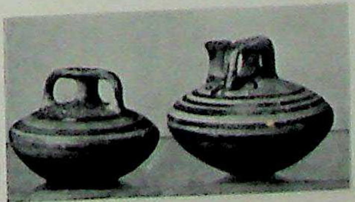

18 19

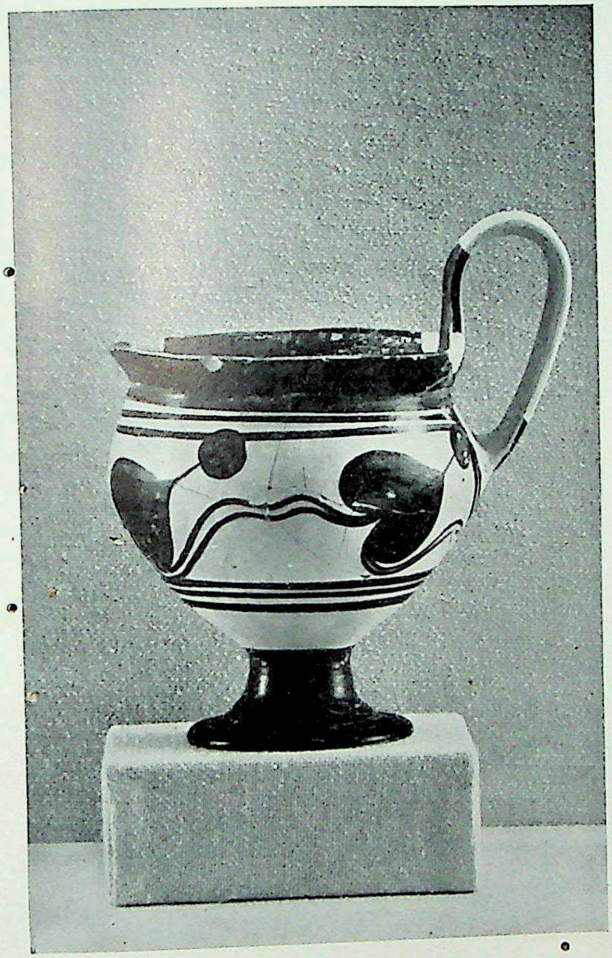
PLATE XIV

Myc. II and IIIA Pottery from Palestine

1. Pal. Mus., from Lachish. (Photo, Pal. Mus.)

2 *a*, *b*. Pal. Mus. 037. 934, from Lachish. (Photo, Pal. Mus.)

3. Ashmolean Mus. 1932. 954
4. Ashmolean Mus. 1932. 953
5. Ashmolean Mus. 1932. 961 from Tell Ajjul.
6. Ashmolean Mus. 1932. 955 (Photos, Ashmolean Mus.)
7. Ashmolean Mus. 1932. 957



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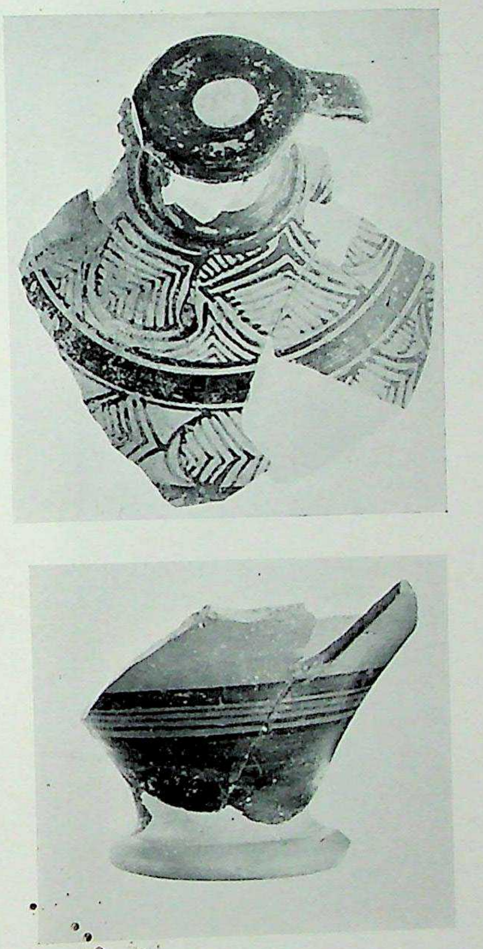
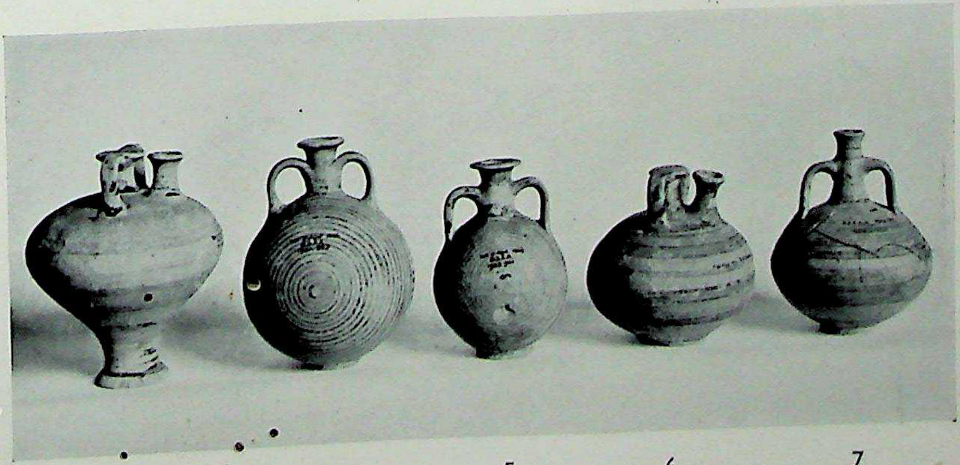


2a, b



3 4 5 6 7

PLATE XV

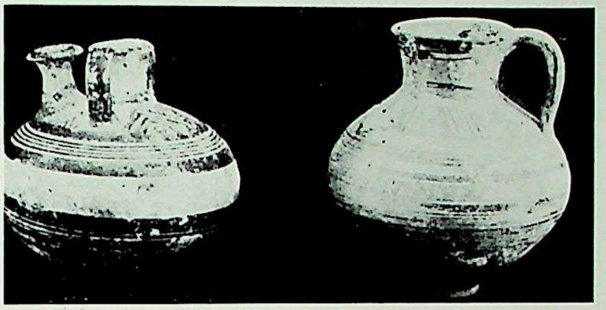
MYC. IIIA POTTERY FROM SYRIA AND PALESTINE

1–5. From Ras Shamra. (Photos by courtesy of Prof. C. F. A. Schaeffer)

6. Pal. Mus. V. 513, from Gezer. (Photo, Pal. Mus.)

7–9. Pal. Mus. I 41, I 44, I 43, from ‘Ain Shems. (Photo, Pal. Mus.)

1



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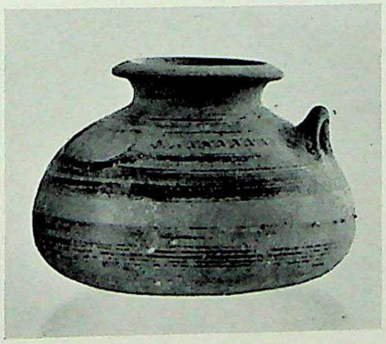

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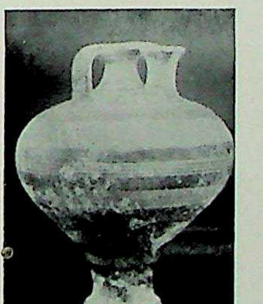

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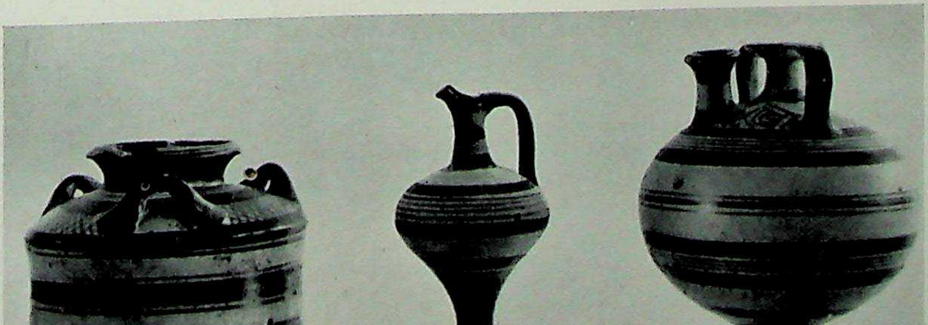


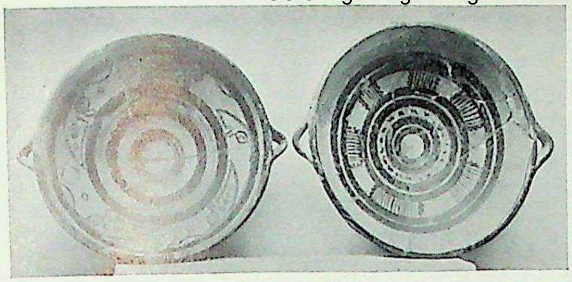
7 8 9

PLATE XVI

Myc. IIIB Pottery from Ras Shamra

(Photos by courtesy of Prof. C. F. A. Schaeffer)

PLATE XVI



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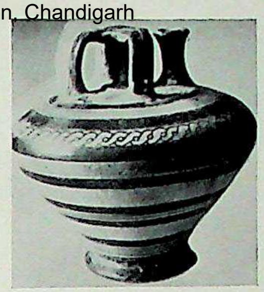

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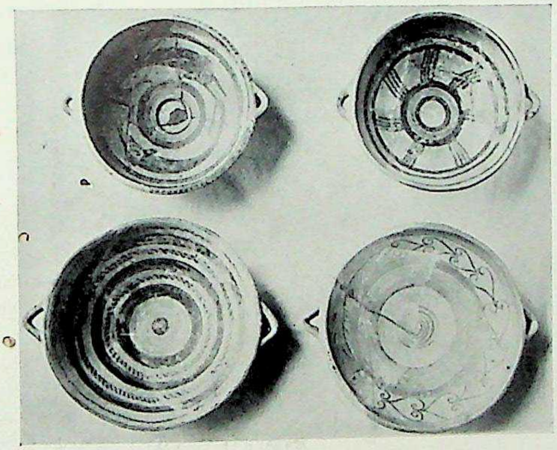

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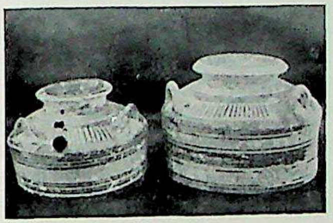

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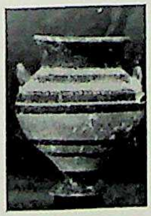

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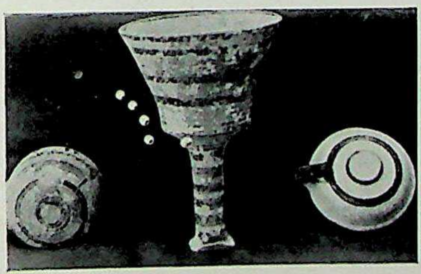

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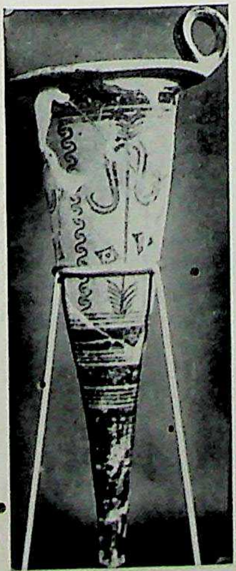

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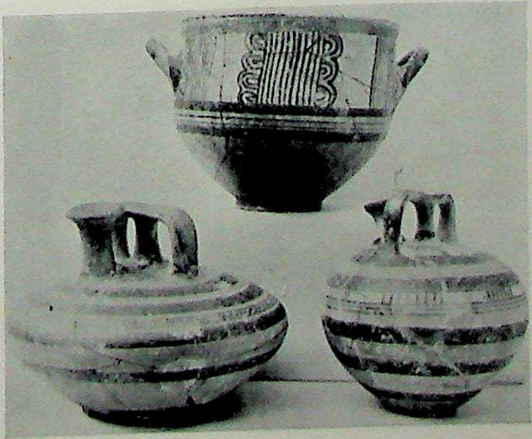


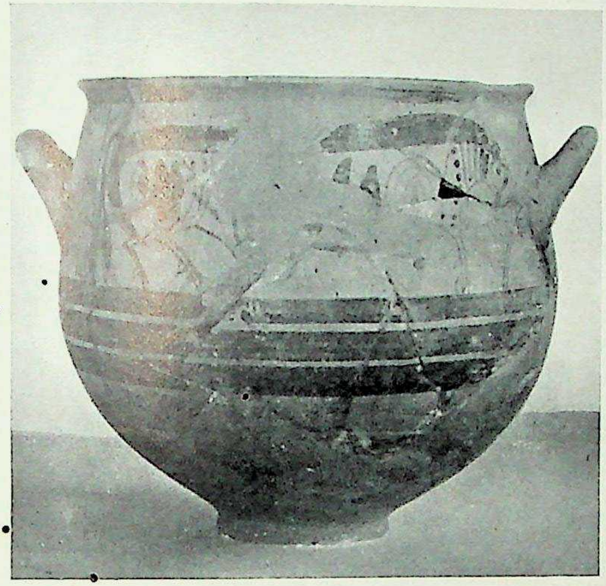
15 16 17

PLATE XVII

Myc. IIIB Pottery from Syria and Palestine

1. From Byblos. (Photo after Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I*, pl. CLVII)
2. Pal. Mus. I 2891, from Megiddo. (Photo, Pal. Mus.)
3. Pal. Mus. 34. 718
4. Pal. Mus. 34. 710
5. Pal. Mus. 34. 312
6. Pal. Mus. 34. 505
7. Pal. Mus. 34. 657
8. Pal. Mus. 34. 714

from Tell Abu Hawam. (Photos, Pal. Mus.)



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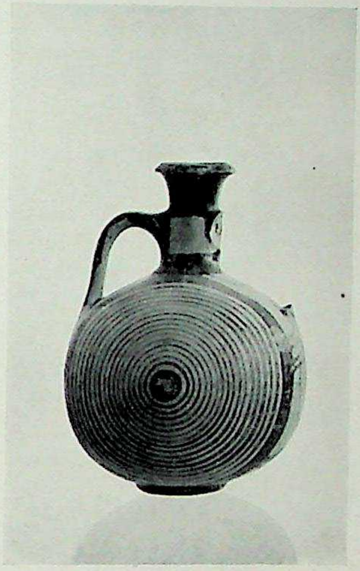

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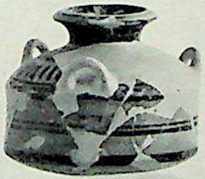

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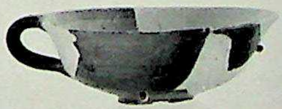

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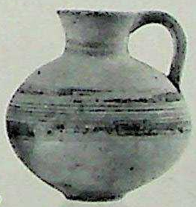

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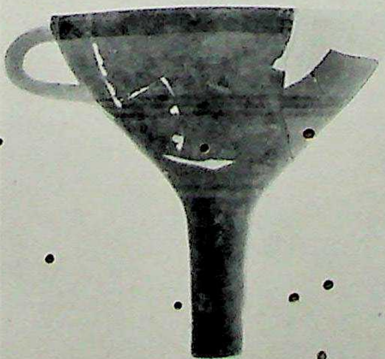

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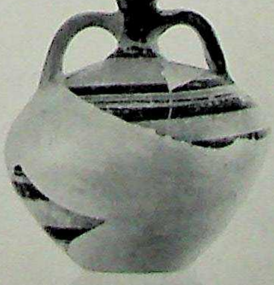

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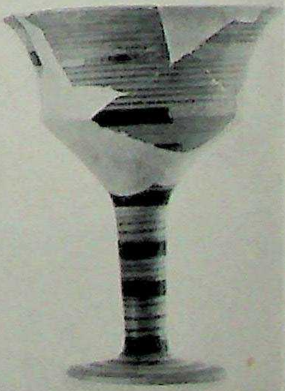

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PLATE XVIII

MYC. IIIA–B POTTERY FROM EGYPT

(Photos by Ashmolean Mus.)

1. Ashmolean Mus. 1909. 130, from Rifeh
2. Ashmolean Mus. 1921. 1436, from Sedment
3. Ashmolean E 2453, from Gurob

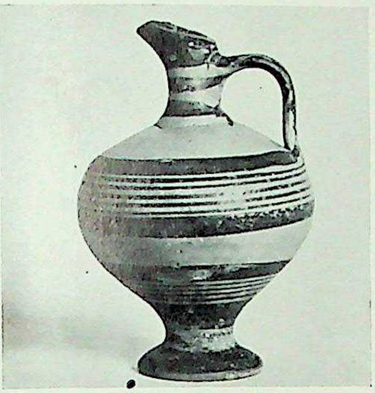
3 *a*. Mark on base of 3

4. Ashmolean Mus. E 2452, from Gurob

4 *a*. Mark on base of 4

5. Ashmolean Mus. 1921. 1321, from Gurob

5 *a*. Mark on base of 5



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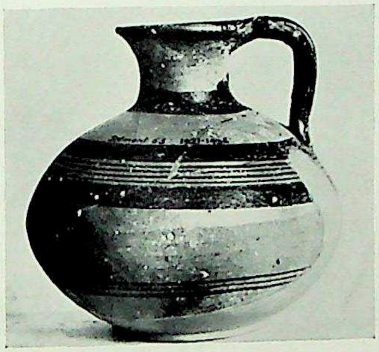

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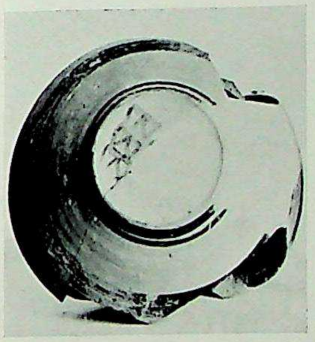
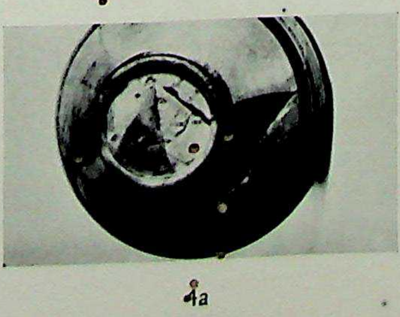


3a

4

5



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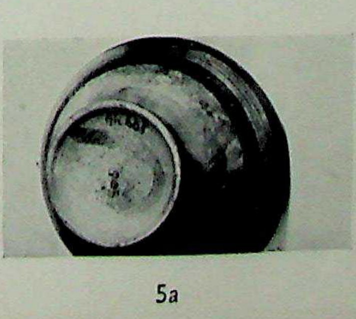

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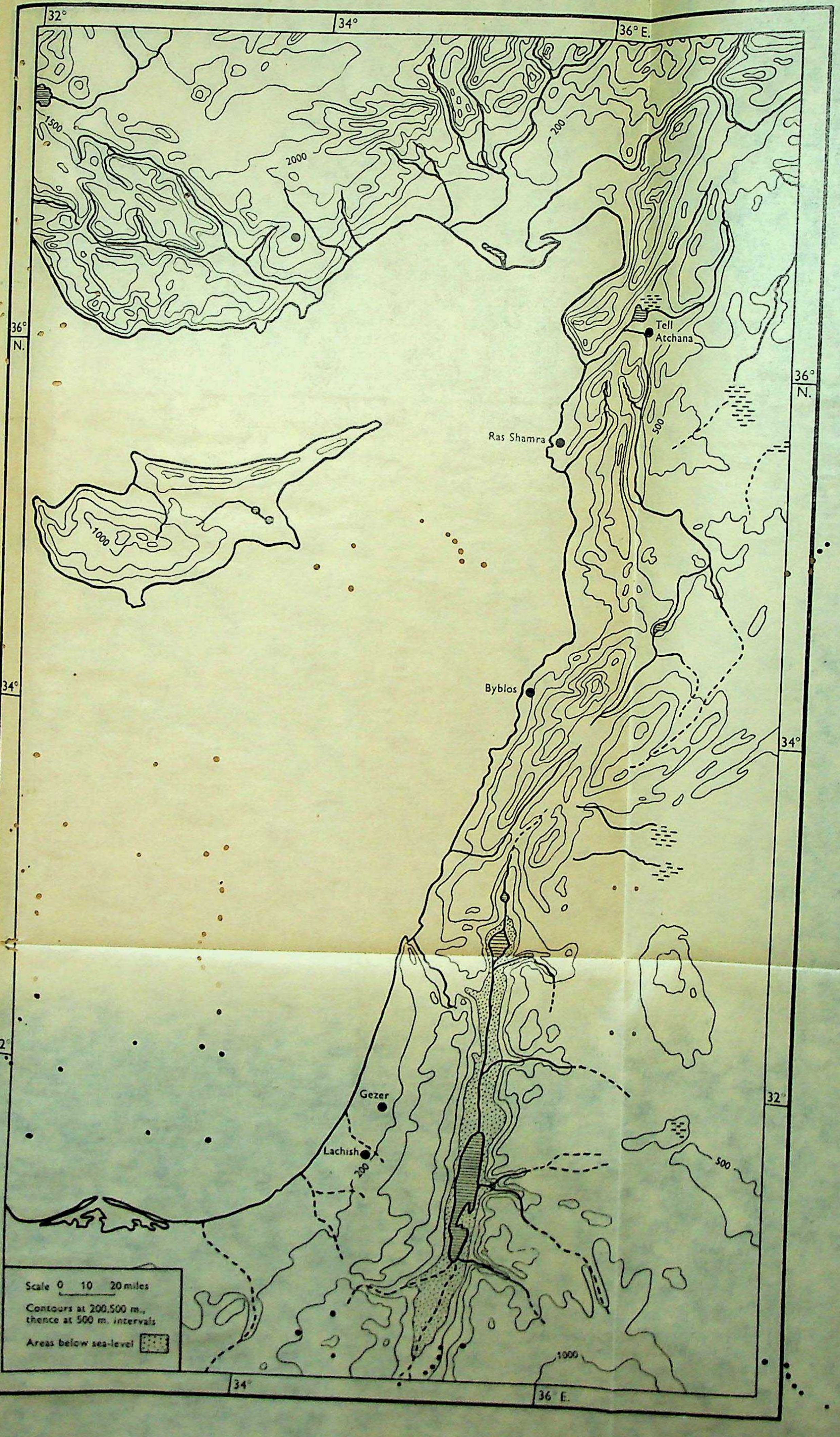
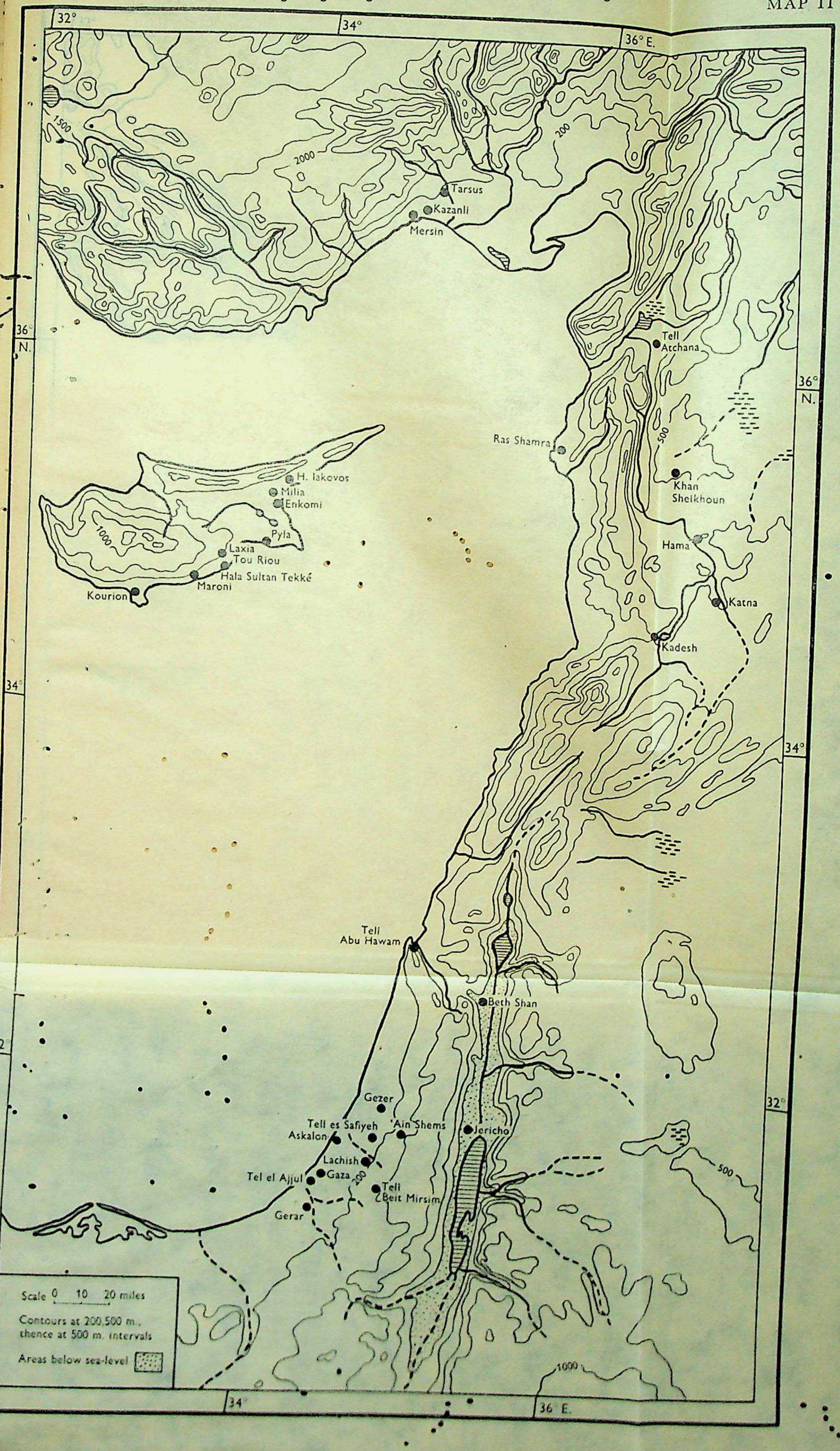
MAP I


32°
34°
36° E.
1500
2000
200
36° N.
Tell Atchana
36° N.
500
Ras Shamra
1000
34°
Byblos
34°
32°
32°
Gezer
Lachish
200
500
1000
34°
36 E.
Scale 0 10 20 miles
Contours at 200,500 m., thence at 500 m. intervals
Areas below sea-level

MAP II


32°
34°
36° E.
1500
2000
200
Tarsus
Kazanli
Mersin
36° N.
Tell Atchana
36° N.
500
Ras Shamra
Khan Sheikhoun
H. Iakovos
Milia
Enkomi
Pyla
1000
Laxia
Tou Riou
Hala Sultan Tekké
Maroni
Kourion
Hama
Katna
Kadesh
34°
34°
Tell Abu Hawam
Beth Shan
32
32°
Gezer
Tell es Safiyeh
'Ain Shems
Jericho
Askalon
Lachish
Tel el Ajjul
Gaza
200
Tell Beit Mirsim
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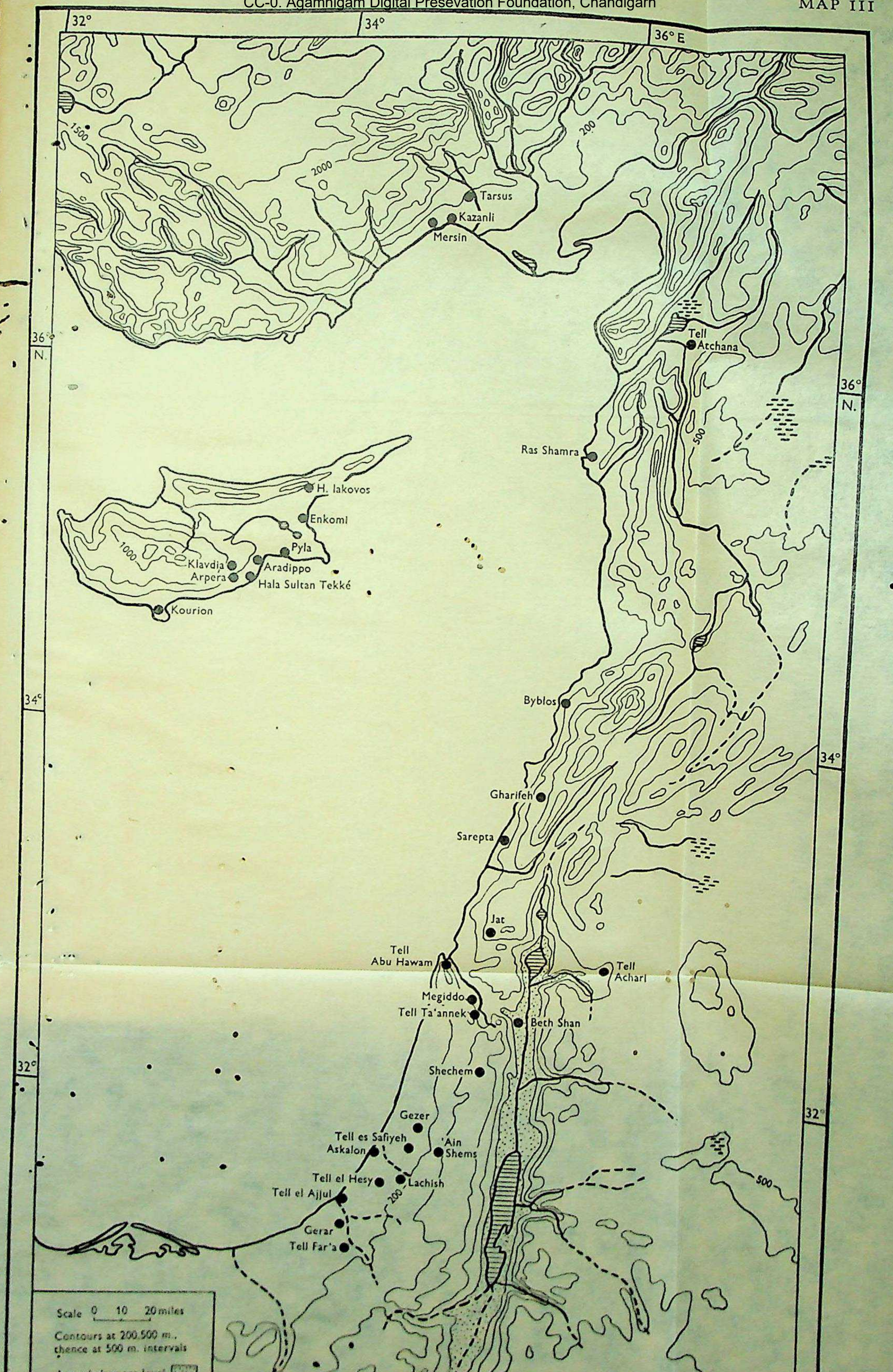
Scale 0 10 20 miles
Contours at 200,500 m., thence at 500 m. intervals
Areas below sea-level
1000
34°
36 E.


32°
34°
36° E
36° N.
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34°
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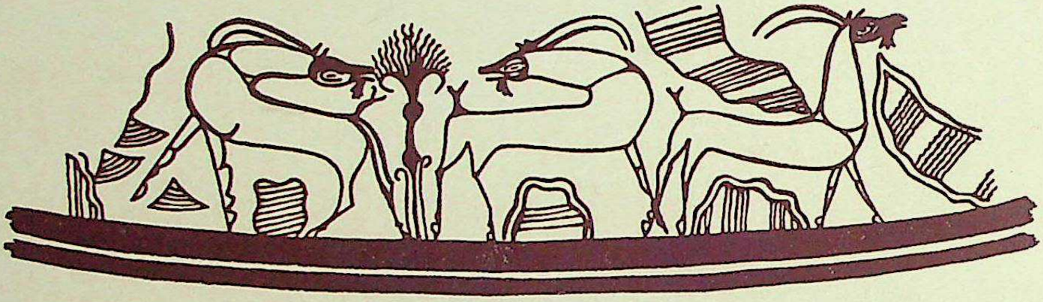
36° E.
1500
2000
200
500
1000
500
200
1000
Tarsus
Kazanli
Mersin
Tell Atchana
Ras Shamra
H. Iakovos
Enkomi
Pyla
Klavdia
Aradippo
Arpera
Hala Sultan Tekké
Kourion
Byblos
Gharifeh
Sarepta
Jat
Tell Abu Hawam
Tell Achari
Megiddo
Tell Ta'annek
Beth Shan
Shechem
Gezer
Tell es Safiyeh
Askalon
'Ain Shems
Tell el Hesy
Lachish
Tell el Ajjul
Gerar
Tell Far'a
Scale 0 10 20 miles
Contours at 200.500 m., thence at 500 m. intervals
Areas below sea-level



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NEW YORK: 51 Madison Avenue